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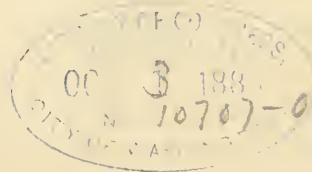
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A POLITICAL REVELATION.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE COMING CROWN."

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A POLITICAL REVELATION.

I.

WANTED—AN ISSUE.

IN 1883, the year preceding the presidential struggle, the two great political parties of the Union found themselves each in want of an issue. They were before the country as the "Ins" and the "Outs"—a matter of momentous difference to the army of office-holders of the one and the legion of expectant and would-be office-holders of the other party; but a difference, notwithstanding, which neither cared or dared appeal to the arbitration of the nation at large. The people, outside the recognized party leaders who so unselfishly spared their followers the task of thinking for themselves and selecting their candidates, manifested no extraordinary interest in any of the preliminary moves on the political chessboard. The country was moderately prosperous. Abundant harvests had blessed

the West and South, and created a correspondingly gratifying demand for the manufactured products of the East and the industrial North. There was a greater degree of harmony between the sections that had confronted each other in desperate conflict twenty years before, than had existed since the war. The North had chosen to forget the Ku-Klux outrages, and the election frauds and the repudiation meannesses of the South, and the South had responded and reciprocated by ignoring the claims of the Sage of Grammercy to political martyrdom, had stricken from its school text books, "A low mudsill" as the proper definition of the word "Yankee," and had even progressed so far in enforced forgetfulness of the past, as to refrain from calling the Governor of Massachusetts "Beast Butler" more than once in each issue of its leading newspapers. Nor did the evidences of hearty good feeling and good fellowship end here—the proofs of the millenium were something more than negative. The South contributed duels between some of its more impulsive fire-eating editors to amuse the people of the North ; and Harvard College refused the degree of L. L. D. to General Benjamin F. Butler, the Governor of Massachusetts, in deference to Southern opinion and to the intense delight of the ladies of the late Confederate States. So much, indeed, was this action of the Trustees of Harvard College appreciated by the ladies of the South, that when occasions arose thereafter, the name "Harvard" was bestowed upon many of the male children born in New Orleans and other cities ; and the event would have been

still further honored but that it was found impossible, for obvious reasons, to confer upon the female infants the name of a distinguished statesman to whose instrumentality the granting of this signal boon to Southern pride and prejudice was very largely due. Under these circumstances it will be seen that sectionalism as a political issue was dead, and that the Republican party could no longer have recourse to waving a certain ensanguined garment, which had done such excellent service for them in former years; indeed, had they been so disposed, it would have been impossible, as the aforementioned garment had been reduced to tatters, from its constant use since 1868. Thus deprived of a sectional issue, it was necessary to look up the time honored, although tolerably well worn material, which had done good service in party platforms in days gone by. The negro, of course, had done excellent service in his day, but there was a very general impression on the part of the thinking men of both parties that the negro hadn't much to grumble about; and, in any event, the Republican party, rank and file, had come to the conclusion that it had given the negro all he had a right to expect, inasmuch as several negroes had been known to have voted the Democratic ticket, and some of them had actually dared to accept minor offices from Democrats in power. Had nothing else taken the negro out of politics, that is, as a party issue, these two evidences of ingratitude on his part would have sufficed. On the question of national finances, the two great parties were equally at peace. The stalwart and steadfast devotion of the Republican

party to the principles of honesty and honor in its management of the financial affairs of the nation, during its reign of power, had born good fruit in the general prosperity and marvelous growth of the country, and in its unequalled and unapproachable credit in the money centres of the world. No Democrat of any prominence, North or South, had been found in 1883 to repeat the folly of former years, and, by impeaching the financial record of the Republican party, force that as an issue and the Greenback party, having been reduced by poverty and other causes, to eleven members—all of them presidential candidates—was hardly in a position to take the field with a following in favor of fiat money.

This, then, was the condition of affairs as they affected the two great parties in the Summer of 1883. On what great vital point, upon which the line of divergence was clearly drawn between them, could the Republican and Democratic parties appeal to the people? At this time there appeared but one—that which was the issue during the campaign when Garfield and Hancock were the standard bearers of their respective hosts in 1880, and upon which the Republican tidal wave swept from the Pacific slope to the Atlantic shore. It was to the profound political acumen and exalted wisdom of Henry Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, in placing the “tariff for revenue only,” plank in the Democratic platform in 1880, that the Republican party owed its success. And yet the Republican party, with base ingratitude, has never taken a single step to present Mr. Watterson with a national testimonial in apprecia-

tion of his services. That one line in the Democratic declaration of principles in 1880 furnished the Republican party with a live issue, upon which it could assume a bold and aggressive position and once more place the Democratic party upon the defensive in a campaign. The result is history. And so, recalling the splendid triumph of the preceding contest, the Republican leaders began in 1883 to so direct events that the coming battle of 1884 could be fought on the tariff issue. This, however, proved to be a rather more difficult task than had been apprehended. For the first time in a decade, the Democracy in 1883 seemed to be learning wisdom by experience. The leaders refused to commit themselves or their party to a plain and unequivocal expression in favor of free trade, thinly disguised under the alias of "a tariff for revenue only;" and when they were not pronounced for a tariff in favor of something or other, they dodged the question with that conspicuous partiality for dodging that has always been so marked a characteristic of the Democratic party. This left the Republican party the empty advantage of fighting for something which the Democracy declined to oppose. Moreover, outside of Pennsylvania, parts of Ohio, some of the manufacturing districts of the New England states and New York, and here and there an isolated industrial section of the South, many Republicans themselves were unwilling to go to the extreme lengths of the protectionists in the matter of tariff legislation. To show how nearly both parties had drifted into the same channel—that there was not one

issue of national importance on which they radically differed, the platforms adopted by the opposing party conventions in Ohio may be quoted:

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republicans of Ohio in state convention assembled, adopt the following declaration of principles:

First. That the Republican party in preserving the life of the nation, in giving freedom and equal rights to all its citizens, in the reconstruction of the Union, in upholding the national honor, in the generous provision made for those who have suffered for their country, in keeping the national faith and advancing the national credit, in the speedy payment of the public debt, in the reduction of national taxation, in the elevation of the civil service, in the enactment of a series of wise public measures which have given the country unexampled prosperity, has given the best assurances of its purposes for the future.

Second. That the Republican party believe now, as in the past, in the maintenance of a tariff system which will provide a revenue for the Government, and, at the same time, will protect American producers and American labor; that it is opposed to the Democratic doctrine of "a tariff for revenue only," because such a doctrine, if enforced, would, of necessity, compel American workmen to accept the unremunerative wages which are paid their foreign rivals. It looks, with alarm, upon the purpose already avowed by the Democratic leaders, that the next Congress will revise the tariff by further reducing the duties on imports, which, if executed, will unsettle the business of the country, and will produce great injury to the mechanics, producers and artisans of the land.

Third. That the wool tariff of 1867 should be restored at the first possible opportunity.

Fourth. That we are in favor of the establishment by Congress of a national bureau of labor statistics for the purpose of collecting and systematizing all statistics relating to the industrial, social and sanitary condition of the laboring masses of the nation.

Fifth. That we approve the action of the General Assembly of Ohio, in the submission of constitutional amendments in relation to the liquor traffic, thus giving an opportunity to the people to make such changes in the organic law of the state as may be approved by their judgment.

Sixth. That we approve of the taxation of the liquor traffic for revenue and for the purpose of providing against the evils resulting from such traffic.

Seventh. That we congratulate the country upon the reduction by the last Congress of internal taxes of more than forty millions of dollars annually, while, at the same time, the credit of the nation is maintained and the steady reduction of the national debt is provided for.

Eighth. That the wise and conservative administration of President Arthur meets with the hearty approval of the Republicans of Ohio.

Ninth. That we commend the action of the General Assembly of the state in providing a commission to examine into the system of prison contract labor, and we declare ourselves in favor of the abolition of said contract system.

Tenth. That we reiterate the declaration of previous Republican conventions in favor of civil service reform, and welcome every intelligent effort to make that measure practical, and we especially approve the provisions made by the Republican Congress for giving the patriot soldiers of the late war with the proper qualifications the preference for all places under the Government.

Eleventh. That we favor the repeal of the law limiting the time within which applications for pensions under the arrears of pension act shall be made.

Twelfth. That the greatly improved condition of the public institutions of the state, the successful refunding of the public debt at a rate of interest lower than a loan has been placed by any other state, the provision for and payment of \$18,000,000 of the public debt, the improved financial condition of the state being such that we may reduce the rate of taxation, and, at the same time, be amply able to make large expenditures for the benefit of the charitable institutions of the state—all this accomplished in the face of what appeared to be an absolute necessity under Democratic administration to increase state taxation, attests the wisdom, care and economy of the administration of Governor Foster, and is an assurance to the people of the state that their best interests are to be subserved by the continuance of the Republican party in power.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Democracy of Ohio, in convention assembled, hereby affirm the principles of the party as expressed in the primaries and in the state and national platforms, in regard to personal

liberty, the true function of good government, and as embraced in the political creed expounded by the great founder of the Democratic party—Thomas Jefferson. The application of these principles to our present condition demands the purification of the public service, the punishment of the robbers of the public treasury, the equalization of all public burdens, the arrest of the profligacy and extravagance that corrupt the administration of public affairs, and a total change in the policy that has so long been pursued by the Republican party, of favoring individual and class interest at the expense of the laboring and wealth-producing people of the country, and we reannounce our previous declaration for stable money, the gradual extinction of the public debt and the payment of pensions to disabled soldiers, their wives and orphans.

Second. We favor a tariff for revenue limited to the necessities of a government economically administered and so adjusted in its application as to prevent unequal burdens, encourage productive interests at home, and afford just compensation to labor, but not to create or foster monopoly.

Third. The act of the Republican Congress reducing the tariff on wool, while at the same time increasing it on woollen goods, already highly protected, was iniquitous legislation, discriminating in favor of monopoly and against the agricultural interests of the country, and ought not to have been carried, and we heartily approve the action of the Democratic members of the Ohio delegation in Congress in voting against that increase.

Fourth. The Democratic party is, as it always has been, opposed to sumptuary legislation and unequal taxation in any form, and is in favor of the largest liberty of private conduct consistent with the public welfare and the rights of others, and of regulating the liquor traffic and providing against evils resulting therefrom by a judicious and properly graded license system.

Fifth. The abuses of the present contract system in our State Penitentiary, by which the products of the labor of convicts are brought into competition with the products of honest labor, to the great detriment of the latter, are injurious and unwise, and ought to be corrected, and the promises of the Republican party to abolish this system are sure to be false and hypocritical by its failure to do so while it has had the power.

Sixth. The protection of the Government is due to all American citizens, native and foreign born, abroad as well as at home.

Seventh. We reaffirm the resolutions of the state conventions of Ohio in 1880, 1881 and 1882, and of the Democratic

National conventions of 1872, 1876 and 1880, demanding thorough reform and purification of the civil service, and charge that the Republican party has violated every pledge it has heretofore given for the reform thereof, and has failed, during its long administration of the Government to correct even the most crying abuses ; and we demand, therefore, a change in the executive administration of the Government itself as the reform first of all necessary, as made more manifest in the recent Star Route trials, thereby ousting corrupt rings confederated to protect crime and prevent the punishment of criminals, and by so doing to make it possible to again punish fraud and thieving in the public service.

The same old story ! The Republican party fell back on the war, negro suffrage and its financial record, and the Democracy, not be out-done in the matter of age, must needs drag poor Thomas Jefferson from his grave and rely on what was left of him to help them. Apart from the local difference on the liquor question there was not, at this time, as a critical examination of the platforms shows a single point upon which the two parties did not, in the main, agree. There was nothing in their declaration of principles to indicate a single live issue upon which the battle of '84 would be contested ; and, but for the usual platitudes in which each party arraigns the other, there was nothing in the one platform to which the most ardent partisan of the opposing faith could not subscribe. As it was in Ohio, so it was in every part of the Union. The masses of both parties were drifting from their partisan moorings, and getting into and out of each others lines at will. Appeals to the "Old Flag" had lost their force in one direction quite as much as the political materialization of the spirit of Thomas Jefferson had lost its

charm on the other. This state of affairs boded no good to the leaders whose living depended upon their ability to prove that they, and they alone, could save the country. There was no principle at stake, and, not having anything to contend for or against it was becoming difficult to keep the rank and file in the party traces. Such was the general political aspect of the country in the Summer and Fall of 1883. Let us see how it was within the party organizations themselves.

II.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE Republican party was entrusted by the nation with the control of its destinies at the most momentous crisis in American history. Buchanan's imbecile administration—weak and vacillating when not treacherous and treasonable—had by its truckling to traitors brought the country to the verge of civil war. Abraham Lincoln—the chosen instrument of Almighty God—reached Washington to assume the presidency of a nation dismayed, distracted, disunited and dispairing. Armed Rebellion had raised its bloody front and flaunting its flag in every state south of Mason and Dixon's line made no secret of its purpose to destroy the Republic. The army, weakened and disheartened by the defection of some of its ablest officers, was powerless; the navy, scattered by the orders of a traitor, was in distant seas; the treasury was depleted and the national credit was sinking in every part of the world. Worse than all there was in the North a large and influential party whose secret treason was for a time more dangerous than the open hostility of the arrogant and boastful rebels who, in contemptuous defiance, had now flung the Confederate standard to the breeze. Loyal men stood appalled by

the tremendous possibilities of the future. Then came the boom of the traitor's gun fired at the American flag on the walls of Sumter! Hark! From New England's peaceful hamlets and granite hills; from the factories and workshops and marts of the Empire State; from grand old Pennsylvania's mines and mills; from Ohio's broad and fertile fields; from the great prairies of the boundless West; from where the pine forests on the Northern border moaned in anguish at the insult to the flag—from the farthest confines of the North are heard the sounds of loyal legions marshaling in mighty hosts! Their march is to the Southland—to the Southland to protect the flag, to chastise the traitor, to preserve in all its greatness and its grandeur the Union of the Fathers. Thank God! The sound of the guns at Sumter had at last awakened the slumbrous North and Abraham Lincoln then knew that the Union could and would be preserved!

Lincoln entered on his mighty work surrounded, supported and strengthened by the ablest and best men in the nation. The Republican leaders of the time were intellectual giants. Mediocrity had no place at the front. In the cabinet, in Congress and in the loyal states, the men who were chosen leaders were animated by the loftiest motives and the purest patriotism. The sordid love of gain had not begun to taint them. The names of Seward, and Stanton, and Cameron, and Sumner, and Curtin, and Morton, and Andrews, and Chase, and Dix, and Wade, and Stevens—these, and a score of others, prominent in the cabinet, as war gov-

ernors, and as leaders in Congress rise in succession as the mind turns to the past. These men led the loyalists of the North—the Republican party. Theirs was the work of enrolling the great armies, of supplying the treasures, of creating a navy ; of thwarting the dastardly designs of ambitious France and perfidious Britain—both with unconcealed and exultant expectation gloating o'er the disruption of the Union and the destruction of the young Republic of the West. And they had another work to perform—to keep alive the confidence and to maintain and foster the faith of the people in the North, in the face of all reverses, in the indestructibility of the Union and in the ultimate triumph of Loyalty over Treason and of Right over Wrong. Abraham Lincoln by the emancipation proclamation struck the shackles from four millions of slaves, and the nation—that is, the Republican party—applauded the work. The last act closed at Appomattox. Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan—chosen chieftains of the warriors for the Union, had finished their task, and Rebellion, crushed and baffled and bleeding, lay prostrate beneath the iron heel of the victorious North. Lincoln, his work finished, his country saved, his destiny fulfilled, laid down his cross to take up the martyr's crown. Andrew Johnson, the Judas Iscariot of his party, became president and with his "My Policy" the nation was in danger of losing all that it cost four years of bloody war, hundreds of thousands of lives, and hundreds of millions of dollars to preserve. For some inscrutable reason Heaven

permitted Andrew Johnson to escape his just deserts—the impeachment trial failed. Then came another epoch in the history of the party—Ulysses S. Grant, the soldier-saviour of the Union was called to the presidential chair. The Republican party now applied itself to the task of accomplishing three great works: (1) The reconstruction of the South, (2) the establishing of the political and social status of the negro, and (3) the adjustment of the public debt and the restoration of the national credit. These great problems, requiring in their solution such firmness and yet such moderation, were practically solved at the close of the first presidential term of General Grant. But the finality of their solution was threatened, and the country wisely gave Grant a second term in which to so finish the work that it could never be successfully assailed. Grant's second administration accomplished this, but it did more: it developed unexpected dangers to the party and to the nation at large. For sixteen years the Republican party had been in power. Within its ranks had grown up a vast army of office-holders whose claims to preferment were based solely on party fealty. Unscrupulous carpet baggers in the South and dishonest officials in the North, both calling themselves Republicans, were dragging to the dirt the fair fame and good name of the party to which they claimed to belong. Some of these men were high in place and power, and demanded exemption from the penalty of their crimes on account of their party services. These men were like a millstone around the

neck of the party, and the people began to murmur, and forgot their gratitude for the good deeds of the party in the past in their just indignation against some of its leaders for their misdeeds of the present. Had the party grappled with the abuses within its ranks at this time, it would have done well; but it did not, and from that day the decadence of Republican power began. Rutherford B. Hayes succeeded Grant. Hayes was a political accident—a goody-goody sort of person, meaning well as a rule, but never doing anything particularly good or particularly bad. He was governed throughout by his wife, an estimable woman of strong qualities, except her *penchant* for Sunday Schools and her weakness for lemonade. Hayes gave the country an administration that began without anxiety, progressed without incident and terminated without regret. In the meantime Grant, having completed his tour of the world, began to loom up as a candidate for a third term, and soon became the most formidable aspirant for the nomination. His supporters were skillfully organized, admirably generalized, bold and confident. Three United States Senators—Conkling of New York, Cameron of Pennsylvania, and Logan of Illinois—his champions in their respective states, led his cohorts in the Chicago convention and presented there a phalanx without a parallel in political history. John Sherman of Ohio, and James G. Blaine of Maine, were his opponents, but neither the place-purchased support of the followers of the one, nor the personal devotion of the admirers of the other availed to secure for their

favorite the nomination. Grant's solid 306 column never wavered in its devotion; but a break in the lines of his rivals and the sudden concentration of the opposition upon a hitherto unheard-of candidate, secured for James A. Garfield of Ohio the glittering prize, and made him the next president of the United States. Garfield's victory was the signal for a break in the solid front of the Republican party. By the most strenuous efforts, however, a temporary truce was effected and this lasted until Garfield had taken his place in the chair vacated by Rutherford B. Hayes. Garfield summoned James G. Blaine to his cabinet as premier. This precipitated the crisis. Open war was declared between the factions. Roscoe Conkling of New York, was the chosen leader of that faction who believed in spoils and place and who distinguished themselves by the name of Stalwarts; their opponents—the administration supporters,—they elegantly termed Half-Breeds. The demand of Senator Conkling to be considered the dispenser-in-chief of the Federal offices in the State of New York—he kindly allowing the president to sign the commissions of the appointees,—was, despite the implied consequences, refused by President Garfield. The result was awful. Roscoe Conkling arose, and with a tread that shook the continent, marched out of the United States Senate—and went to the State of New York asking to be sent back again. He was accompanied by his colleague, a Mr. Platt, an alleged Senator who had never been heard of before and who hasn't been heard of since. On the morning of July 2, 1882,

President Garfield, one of the noblest and best of American statesmen, was stricken down by the bullet of a cowardly assassin at Washington, and after months of lingering agony, died at Elberon, New Jersey, on September 19th, of the same year. He was succeeded in the presidential chair by Chester A. Arthur, whose administration brings the history of the Republican party down to the present year. On assuming the duties of his high office, President Arthur entered upon a wise, careful and conservative policy. Giving aid and comfort to neither Stalwart nor Half-Breed, he so administered the internal affairs of the nation as to win the cordial support and sincere respect of the people at large. The foreign policy of the administration was however, lamentably weak and pusillanimous. Under the preceding administration Secretary of State Blaine had inaugurated a policy calculated to secure for the American flag admiration at home and respect abroad. Blaine, with profound sagacity, had looked ahead and anticipated the danger that would result from European nations obtaining a preponderance of power in South America; and, to maintain the influence of the Republic, had begun negotiations with the South American nations looking to concerted action on the part of the ruling powers of the Western continent. These negotiations were pending when Secretary Frelinghuysen—a respectable mediocrity from somewhere in New Jersey, was called upon to assume office as Blaine's successor. Frelinghuysen made haste to humiliate the American flag in South America by causing the properly accred-

ited diplomatic representatives to be laughed at as persons who did not know their instructions, and he then directly reversed the policy of his predecessor. This was the beginning of the blunders and it was hardly to be wondered after such an occurrence that shiploads of pauper and criminal emigrants were allowed to land in American ports in defiance of public opinion without anything like a firm and resolute protest from the Secretary of State. Such remonstrances as this feeble person Frelinghuysen saw fit to make—when he had mustered courage enough to do something—were laughed at and ridiculed on the other side of the Atlantic—and the deluge of destitution continued on this.

The Republican party had evidently finished its work. It had fought the war and saved the Union; it had freed the negro and clothed him with the mantle of citizenship; it had largely reduced the national debt and refunded it at a minimum interest; it had made a greenback dollar the equivalent of its face value in gold; it had restored the states lately in rebellion to their place in the Republic; it had cared for the soldier and aided the widow and educated the orphan of the heroes who gave their lives for their country. Such was its record. And it had nothing of its mighty mission left unfulfilled; the purpose for which it was called into being was accomplished; its life work was ended. Its Lincolns and its Garfields and its Sumners and its Stantons and its Seward—all had passed away. A race of political tricksters and place hunters had succeeded to the heritage of the patriot and the

statesman. The Chandlers and the Robesons and the Dørseys and the Bradys and the Kelloggs, and others of their calibre, sat in the high councils of the party and of the nation. Their ambition was place and their aim pelf. They were bound together for the accomplishment of no great purpose. Confessed thieves, shallow tricksters, and clever charletans had risen to command, and honest worth, sincere patriotism and political purity were no longer requirements for party honors. And so as the year 1883 passed away, the once grand Republican party was seen to exist only for the benefit of banded ringsters and place hunters, who used its historic name to further their own selfish purposes, and who were held together by the cohesive power of public plunder.

III.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

IF there were any truth in the oft-repeated assertion, which has been reiterated at stated intervals for a generation past, that the Democratic party was dead and buried without hope of resurrection here or of salvation hereafter, there would be no necessity for this chapter. But a careful and dispassionate inquiry as to the truth of the statement leads to the belief—especially in the light of certain results in New York and Pennsylvania in the year 1882—that the Democratic party is really not dead. The persistence with which it insists upon clinging to life is most extraordinary, and suggests the necessity for an examination into the causes which produce this remarkable and abnormal longevity. Such an examination leads to the conclusion that the vitalizing spirit of the Democratic party is in its name, and that it is to its name alone that it owes its existence. If the name “Democratic” were taken from the party, it would speedily revolve itself into its intergral fractions, no two of which hold the same political doctrine. On one point alone are the heterogenous and discordant elements united—in a blind devotion to the name “Democrat” and a consequent veneration for the memory of Andrew Jackson—who is always more or less

honored by complimentary votes at every presidential election.

Without going into ancient history—which is, perhaps, unfair to a party that has always made its strong points on ancient history—a brief review of the Democratic party may well be begun at the Charlestown Convention of 1860. For months, and indeed for years before, the party had been gradually dividing into two irreconcilable and hostile factions. The attitude of the Southern Democracy—then possessing a larger proportion of the brains as it did of the voting strength of the party, was offensive and dictatorial. On the other hand, the leaders of the party in the North were firm in their determination not to allow the programme of the Southern men to be carried out. The result was the bolt, after one of the bitterest political struggles on record, of a considerable portion of the delegates; an adjourned convention which subsequently met at Baltimore, and the nomination of two rival Democrat tickets—Douglas and Johnson on the one hand, and Breckinbridge and Lane on the other. In the meantime a smaller fragment of the party, which opposed the designs of the secessionist Democrats, but which, except in its devotion to the cause of the Union had nothing in common with the Abolitionists, then becoming merged in the Republican party—nominated a third ticket bearing the names of Bell and Everett. The supporters of Bell and Everett were mainly Democrats drawn from the old American party, and were known as the Union party. There were thus three more or less Democratic

tickets in the field opposing the Republican ticket bearing the names of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. The Republican party proved victorious ; Lincoln was elected, and shortly after the war of the rebellion began. With that large and solid section of the Democracy which carried its doctrines to their inevitable consequences, and which for four years stood arrayed in line of battle against the government of their country, this book has nothing to do ; they had the courage of their convictions, and, however mistaken in their principles, they had the manhood to bravely fight to maintain them. In the North the Democracy divided again into two factions—one outspoken and earnest in its loyalty to the flag and in its devotion to the Union—the other bitter, treacherous and malignant in its deadly enmity to the government, and in its opposition to the war. These two factions were known as War Democrats and Copperheads. The former furnished thousands and tens of thousands of loyal and brave soldiers to the Union armies ; the latter regretted the victories won by those armies and exulted in their defeats. It was the virulent hostility of the Northern Copperheads to the National cause that has cast upon the Democratic party that opprobrium which over a score of years has not sufficed to entirely efface. In 1864 the Democracy nominated General George B. McClellan for president. He was overwhelmingly defeated and Abraham Lincoln re-elected, the people of the North apprehending in the event of a Democratic victory the supremacy of the Copperhead anti-war element of the party, and a consequent

cowardly and dishonorable surrender of the Union cause. The war was fought to a victorious close. Lincoln had been assassinated and Andrew Johnson, the political apostate, had taken his place in the presidential chair. Johnson's gradual but complete betrayal of the Republican party followed, and was hailed with delight by the Democracy, north and south. Now that the war was over they were more united and all the elements joined in common support of the man whose "My Policy" was complete surrender of the National cause to the forces that had conspired to betray and destroy it. Such Democrats—and there were numbers of them—who repudiated this unholy alliance, abjured their party faith and became Republicans. The Democracy, consistent in their course, fought the Republican measures for the unification of the country at every step. In 1868 they nominated, with the hearty consent, support and approval of the Southern wing of the party, Seymour and Blair. Horatio Seymour was a man of commanding ability, but he went into the race handicapped by the memory of a speech made to the draft rioters of New York in which he addressed them as "my friends." Seymour and Blair were defeated by tremendous majorities, and Grant and Colfax, the Republican candidates, elected. During the ensuing four years the attitude of the Democratic party was that of uncompromising hostility to all of the Republican measures for the reconstruction of the Southern States, for the enfranchisement of the negro and for the payment of the public debt in the letter and spirit in which

it was contracted. Their principles repudiated and rejected again and again by the Northern people, the Democratic party, hungering for office and power, and conscious that no candidate tainted with an anti-war record could be elected—began apparently to experience a change of heart about the year 1870. They were constrained at last to admit that the war had been won by the North instead of by the South, that the Union had been preserved and that slavery had been abolished forever in the United States. With this change of heart began a course of stultification without a parallel, and two years later—in 1872—the party nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune* for president, and for the first time in its history began to spell negro with only one g. Strange transformation wrought by time! The Democratic party which had advocated the extension of slavery, which had denounced the war as an attack on the slaveholder, which had opposed emancipation and which had fought, inch by inch, all legislation tending to secure for the negro his political and social rights—this same Democratic party nominated for its president Horace Greeley, the idol of the old Abolitionists, the editor of the New York *Tribune*—the oracle and organ, during the war, of the Republican party,—and the man upon whose head a price was set by Southern members of the party that now honored him, but a few years before! This amazing stultification by the Democratic party was paralleled by equal stultification on the part of its candidate, and Horace Greeley accepted the nomination at the hands of a party of

which, in the past, he had been the bitterest and most uncompromising opponent, and whose principles and policy he had derided, denounced and despised. He was defeated and died of a broken heart shortly after. Four years passed away during which the Democracy in the South amused themselves by organizing Ku-Klux clubs, and by the invention of an ingenious labor-saving device to facilitate the manufacture of party majorities. The success of this device—which was known as the tissue ballot—was so marked and instantaneous that it was forthwith adopted by every Southern state where the Democracy had control. In the North the party passed the time in sackcloth and ashes, and abused the Republicans on general principles, having nothing else to do. In 1876, Samuel J. Tilden of New York, was nominated for President, and the party put forth the most tremendous effort it had made since the war. Tilden, the shrewdest and most unscrupulous politician of his time—cold, calculating and crafty, managed the campaign with signal ability, and was elected by a large popular majority. Owing, however, to the political corruption prevailing in some of the Southern states, the Republicans had good ground for contesting the result, and did so with marked success. Tilden, with fatal hesitancy and indecision, proved weak when he should have been strong, and his party leaders were no match for the brainy, bold and daring conspirators who managed the Republican case in the states of Louisiana and Florida, and who by their unblushing effrontery, their lavish use of money, and their support by the

strong arm of the national government, succeeded in saving these states for their candidate. The result was that Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected by an electoral commission, the decision being reached by a strict party vote of eight to seven. The Democracy for the ensuing four years paraded Tilden as a political martyr, and arraigned Hayes as a fraudulent president, and the history of the party during this period may be described as a prolonged whine. Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, of the United States Army—a gallant and chivalrous officer was, four years later—in 1880—the nominee of the party for presidential honors; but his popular strength was neutralized by his colleague on the ticket—English of Indiana—a hard, mechanical person of penurious habits, who had nothing redeeming in his character to win respect or awaken enthusiasm. The party, moreover, incorporated in its platform a “tariff for revenue only,” plank, and thus gave the Republicans ground for a strong and aggressive campaign in advocacy of protection for American industry, which it was alleged was imperilled by this Democratic deliverance in favor of free trade. The Democratic ticket was beaten from Maine to California, and the party doomed to exile from the promised land of power for four years more. Such is the history of the party; it is not a history of which to be proud. Briefly summarized it shows that the party opposed the war, opposed emancipation, opposed reconstruction on the basis upon which reconstruction was effected, opposed negro suffrage, opposed the civil rights bill, opposed the payment of the national

debt in accordance with the dictates of the national honor, and opposed protection to American industry in so far as that protection was secured by tariff—in short it opposed every measure that in the opinion of a large majority of the people tended to the greatness, peace and prosperity of the Republic. Thus, at the beginning of the year 1884, stood the record of the Democratic party for nearly a quarter of a century. That it did not oppose something or other then, was because the Republican party had nothing left to advocate or affirm. On the tariff question there was no unanimity of opinion. The party was for protection in the East and for free trade in the West. This being the case, and having accepted in good faith the results of the war—such acceptance being inevitable in the face of accomplished facts—the Democratic party found itself without a single measure of national importance upon which to challenge the Republicans in the coming campaign. They could, of course, always rely upon two planks of an orthodox Democratic platform—an expression of veneration for the principles of Thomas Jefferson, and a strong condemnation of “the great fraud of '76.” But it became apparent about this time that the people had grown tired of ancient history, and the party leaders began to cast about for something new upon which a candidate might hope to run with some chance of success.

IV.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

THE Republican presidential crop was unusually promising at the close of the year 1883. Both wings of the party by applying themselves sedulously to its cultivation had succeeded, not only in securing ample supplies for immediate wants, but enough to last for a number of months to come. The several varieties were well represented. Some of the Early Seedlings were touched by the frost, but the Hardy Annuals were in fine condition. Favorite Sons looked better than for several years, and that popular variety, the Nation's Choice, was reported up to the usual standard in Ohio and some of the other states. Under these gratifying circumstances, the party leaders were remarkably sanguine in their anticipations, and cheerfully and hopefully answered the conundrum, "What will the harvest be?" A careful inquiry as to the amount of available presidential timber at this time, showed that the attention of the party had been directed to the following more or less distinguished statesmen :

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JR., Massachusetts.

ALLISON, WILLIAM, Iowa.

ARTHUR, CHESTER A., New York.

BLAINE, JAMES G., Maine.

CONGER, OMAR D., Michigan.

CONKLING, ROSCOE, New York.
CROOK, GEN. GEORGE, Ohio.
CULLOM, SHELBY M., Illinois.
DAVIS, DAVID, Illinois.
EDMUND, GEORGE F., Vermont.
EVARTS, WILLIAM M., New York.
FAIRCHILD, LUCIUS, Wisconsin.
FORAKER, JOSEPH B., Ohio.
FOSTER, CHARLES, Ohio.
FRELINGHUYSEN, FRED'K T., New Jersey.
GRANT, ULYSSES S., New York.
GRESHAM, WALTER Q., Indiana.
HALE, EUGENE, Maine.
HALSEY, GEORGE A., New Jersey.
HARRISON, BENJAMIN, Indiana.
HAWLEY, JOSEPH R., Connecticut.
HOYT, HENRY M., Pennsylvania.
KASSON, JOHN A., Iowa.
LINCOLN, ROBERT T., Illinois.
LOGAN, JOHN A., Illinois.
LOW, SETH, New York.
MACVEAGH, WAYNE, Pennsylvania.
MILLER, SAMUEL F., Iowa.
OGLESBY, RICHARD J., Illinois.
PHELPS, WILLIAM WALTER, New Jersey.
PORTER, ALBERT G., Indiana.
POTTS, FREDERICK A., New Jersey.
RAUM, GREEN B., Illinois.
SEWARD, CLARENCE A., New York.
SHERIDAN, PHILIP H., Ohio.
SHERMAN, JOHN, Ohio.
SHERMAN, GEN. WILLIAM T., Ohio.
TELLER, HENRY M., Colorado.
WASHBURN, ELIHU B., Illinois.
WILSON, JAMES F., Iowa.
WINDOM, WILLIAM, Minnesota.

With such an imposing array from which to make a selection, it was now clearly evident that the party would have no difficulty in finding a candidate; the difficulty, it was apparent, would be in selecting a candidate who combined in himself all the elements of personal and party strength, and who could be depended upon not only to poll the full party vote, but also, by reason of his inherent popularity, to gain accessions from the ranks of the opposition. Measured by these requirements, there were but few in the entire list who reached the standard of availability for the first place on the ticket, and at this time it was felt that there were only half a dozen or so names worthy of serious consideration. There were Arthur, Blaine, Edmunds, Grant, Harrison, Lincoln, John Sherman, and Washburne. All of these had their eyes fixed on the future and were closely watching events; but not one of the number had come out openly and announced himself a candidate who desired the nomination. They were distant and coy and each, through his friends, labored to convey the impression that he hadn't thought of the presidency; didn't really want it and, in fact, hadn't quite made up his mind that he would accept it even if the unanimous voice of his party in National Convention were to insist that it be presented to him on a golden salver. To their credit be it said, however, they were all willing to sacrifice themselves "for the good of the people." It may be proper here to submit the following table, taken some months before, of the comparative strength of each of the gentlemen named.

THE REPUBLICAN PREFERENCES — 1883.

STATES.

	<i>Blaine.</i>	<i>Blaine.</i>	<i>Arthur.</i>	<i>Edmunds.</i>	<i>Grant.</i>	<i>Jno. Sherman.</i>	<i>Logan.</i>	<i>Lincoln.</i>	<i>Harrison.</i>	<i>W. T. Sherman.</i>	<i>Gresham.</i>	<i>Fairchild.</i>	<i>Hawley.</i>	<i>Cornell.</i>	<i>Allison.</i>	<i>S. F. Miller.</i>	<i>Sheridan.</i>	<i>Folger.</i>	<i>Windom.</i>	<i>No Expression.</i>
Alabama.....	3	4	1																	1
Arkansas.....	2	4	1																	
California.....	3	1																		
Colorado.....																				
Connecticut.....	4	1																		
Delaware.....	1	1	2																	
Florida.....		1	3																	1
Georgia.....	4				1														6	
Illinois.....	3	2				7														1
Indiana.....	2	1	1							4	1	3								
Iowa.....	7	2																2		
Kansas.....	1	3	1	1			1											2		
Kentucky.....	3	4		3			1													
Louisiana.....		2					1													2
Maine.....	6	1		1																
Maryland.....	2	2	1		1															
Massachusetts.....	4	7			1															2
Michigan.....	1	3						1	1	1										
Minnesota.....	3																			1
Mississippi.....	1	6	1			1														1
Missouri.....	2	3	2					1	2											
Nebraska.....	6	3					1													
Nevada.....	1																			
New Hampshire.....	2	1																		
New Jersey.....	5	2						1	1	1										
New York.....	16	4	17			1	1	1	1	1						2		1		
North Carolina.....	2	3	1		1															2
Ohio.....	2	2			8				1											
Oregon.....	1		1																	
Pennsylvania.....	14	1	2					1												
Rhode Island.....		1																		
South Carolina.....		2	2	1																1
Tennessee.....	1	1	1		2		2			2										
Texas.....	7	2	1				1													3
Vermont.....		3																		
Virginia.....	7	1	1		2		1													
West Virginia.....	3	1	½						1½											
Wisconsin.....	1	1													3					
Total.....	103	64	57½	19	17	14	12½	12	6	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	20	

RECAPITULATION.

Blaine.....	103	Gresham.....	4
Arthur.....	64	Fairchild.....	4
Edmunds.....	57½	Hawley.....	2
Grant.....	19	Cornell.....	2
John Sherman.....	17	Allison.....	2
Logan.....	14	S. F. Miller.....	2
Lincoln.....	12½	Sheridan.....	1
Harrison.....	12	Folger.....	1
W. T. Sherman.....	6	Windom.....	1

No Expression..... 20

New York Times. July 13th, '83.

It will be seen that even at this early day, James G. Blaine of Maine, was clearly the choice, if not of a majority of his party, at least of such a large and influential minority, as to place him head and shoulders over all competitors. His strength was in the great Republican states, where he had a clear majority over all the other candidates combined, while there were only eleven states in which his name was not mentioned as first choice. Of these eleven, Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and South Carolina, expressed a preference for him for second choice, while there were but five states—Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Rhode Island, and Vermont—in which his name does not appear to have commanded attention. In two of these states—Florida and Georgia, both Democratic—Republican sentiment was mainly controlled by office-holders of stalwart persuasion, and hence their preference for Arthur and Grant. Vermont as a matter of course, gave her whole voice for her favorite son, Edmunds. In Rhode Island it was believed that Blaine “was not in the race;” and Connecticut appears to have been too much concerned in figuring on the chances of Democratic success, to have had any time to speculate on Blaine as a Republican candidate. At this time Blaine had been out of public life for nearly two years—a long time for an aspirant for presidential honors to be absent from the glare of that fierce white light that beats upon a public man in the United States. He had been quietly engaged in literary pursuits, and there were no indications that

those pursuits had taken the direction of a "bureau." He had made no effort to attract attention, and had, it was generally supposed, withdrawn from the race for presidential honors. Under these circumstances, there was no mistaking the feeling of the party in paying him this spontaneous and generous tribute, and it was clearly evident that Republicans north, south, east, and west, had already begun the work of concentrating upon James G. Blaine for next president of the United States.

Chester A. Arthur apparently ranked next in the esteem of his party, if the total number of preferences expressed for him be regarded as sufficient evidence of the fact. But an analysis of the figures shows that at this time Arthur had but little positive strength. Of the 64 votes recorded in his favor, 36, over one-half, were from Southern states. In his own state of New York, he was the choice of only 4 out of 44 votes—in other words, assuming the figures given to represent the party feeling with reasonable accuracy, of not quite one-tenth of his party. In the great Republican states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Minnesota, only 5 votes of a total of 69 were cast in his favor. In California, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, and Vermont, he was not even mentioned. When it is considered that Arthur at this time was commanding himself to all sections by his wise and conservative domestic policy, it will be seen that he was amazingly weak as a presidential candidate.

Senator Edmunds of Vermont, showed up better, although in fourteen of the states he does not appear to have been thought of for first choice. These states were Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Of the other states, there were three—Arkansas, New York and Vermont,—in which he led as presidential choice, but in two of these (Arkansas 4 to 6, and New York 17 to 27), he was in the minority as compared with the combined strength of the other favorites. Vermont honored him with her entire vote, and he appeared as the only candidate who was thus honored by the state of which he was the “favorite son.” It is further noticeable that in nearly all the Republican states, while he was largely in the minority, there was yet some expression of opinion in his favor.

Ulysses S. Grant appeared at this time to be entirely out of the race, only 19 out of 344 voices being in his favor. Of the 19 preferences expressed, 17 were from Southern or Democratic states, and but one from an assuredly Republican state—Iowa. In the three great states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, whose stalwart leaders had kept their delegations practically solid for him in the Chicago convention, not one single Republican appeared to have expressed a preference for him as a presidential candidate.

John Sherman, of Ohio, showed strength in but one Republican state—his own—where he was in party favor in the proportion of 8 to 12 for first place. The

remaining nine expressions in his favor, were mainly from Democratic states.

John A. Logan, of Illinois, was the apparent favorite of one-half of his party in his own state, but in the remaining thirty-seven states, only seven voices were raised for him, and only three of them were from states in the Republican column.

Robert T. Lincoln's strength was nowhere prominent. Twelve votes were in his favor, but in no one state did he have over two admirers; while in twenty-eight, he was not taken into consideration at all.

Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, had four voices raised for his boom in his own state—one-third of the total number heard from.

It is hardly worth the space to enlarge upon the remainder of the list. It speaks for itself. Most of the other names were simply honored as favorite sons in their several states. Some of them were of men of very light calibre whose candidacy was never considered as a serious possibility, and who, possessing neither local nor general strength, had no chance had they remained in the field. Most of them dropped out of sight, each with the melancholy satisfaction that his obituary notice, when it comes to be written, would recall to an unappreciative people the fact that he was "once mentioned in connection with the presidential nomination."

V.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

THE number of statesmen in the Democratic party who cherish the hope of one day receiving the nomination for president, has never been determined with absolute accuracy. This is to be deplored, because if such a statement were in existence, it would afford a basis upon which to calculate the total vote of the party at any given time. Deducting the strength of that large and influential section, which, by a constitutional provision, is debarred from the luxury of presidential aspiration, the remainder will be found to represent the number of Democratic candidates, and consequently the entire number of voters of American birth in the party. This wise and beneficent provision of Democratic nature, by which a large and assorted stock of presidential candidates is constantly kept on hand, gives the party an advantage, the importance of which is not easily overestimated. Apart from its practical value in securing cohesion in the party up to the hour of election, it affords an admiring world the sublime spectacle of a band of patriots, any one of whom, in a noble spirit of self-abnegation, is willing to sacrifice himself on the altar of duty and resigning the joys and comforts of private station, accept office with all its trials and tribulations. It was therefore somewhat surprising that at the close of the year 1883, only forty statesmen had been men-

tioned as Democratic candidates for the presidency. This was explained by the fact that several of the states merely mentioned one or two favorite sons as examples of all the rest, and that some of the back counties had failed to forward returns as requested. Excluding the name of Andrew Jackson, in whose favor preferences were expressed in Bucks County, Pa., Posey County, Ind., and Jackson, Miss., the following members of the party were represented as being the choice of a more or less considerable number of admirers in their own and other states for the presidential nomination.

- BAYARD, THOMAS F., Delaware.
BLACK, JERE S., Pennsylvania.
BROWN, JOSEPH E., Georgia.
BUTLER, BENJAMIN F., Massachusetts.
CARLISLE, JOHN G., Kentucky.
CLEVELAND, GROVER, New York.
KELLY, JOHN, New York.
MCLELLAN, GEORGE B., New York.
MCDONALD, JOSEPH E., Indiana.
MORRISON, WILLIAM R., Illinois.
NIBLACK, WILLIAM E., Indiana.
PALMER, JOHN M., Illinois.
COX, SAMUEL S., New York.
DANA, CHARLES A., New York.
DAVIS, DAVID, Illinois.
EATON, WILLIAM W., Connecticut.
ENGLISH, WILLIAM H., Indiana.
FIELD, STEPHEN J., California.
FLOWER, ROSWELL P., New York.
HANCOCK, WINFIELD S., Pennsylvania.
HARRISON, CARTER H., Illinois.
HENDRICKS, THOMAS A., Indiana.

HEWITT, ABRAM S., New York.
HOADLY, GEORGE, Ohio.
HOLMAN, WILLIAM S., Indiana.
JEWETT, HUGH J., New York.
PARKER, JOEL, New Jersey.
PATTISON, ROBERT E., Pennsylvania.
PAYNE, HENRY B., Ohio.
PENDLETON, GEORGE H., Ohio.
RANDALL, SAMUEL J., Pennsylvania.
RANDOLPH, THEODORE F., New Jersey.
THURMAN, ALLEN G., Ohio.
TILDEN, SAMUEL J., New York.
TRUMBULL, LYMAN, Illinois.
TRUNKY, JOHN, Pennsylvania.
VILAS, WILLIAM F., Wisconsin.
VOORHEES, DANIEL W., Indiana.
WALLACE WILLIAM A., Pennsylvania.
WITBECK, WILLIAM F., Indiana.

The list was certainly an imposing one. It possessed everything to entitle it to respect; and in the matter of age—as exemplified by the venerable relic who, in 1876 or 1776, whichever it was, led his party so nearly to victory—it was equalled by few and excelled by none of the lists ever presented to the American people. It included the names of some of the brainiest men in the party—men who by their personal strength, political power, and wise and statesmanlike qualities honored the party to which they belonged. It will be of interest to note the relative strength of the candidates at this time, the estimate being according to the same authority which secured a similar and simultaneous computation in the case of the Republican party. The table of comparative strength is as follows :

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

41

THE DEMOCRATIC PREFERENCES.—1883.

STATES.	Tilden.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Hancock.	Butler.	Thurman.	Cleveland.	Randall.	Flower.	Hoadly.	Morrison.	Eaton.	Parker.	Hewitt.	Hendricks.	Jewett.	Palmer.	English.	No Expression.
Alabama	4	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	4	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
California	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Colorado	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
Delaware	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Florida	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	5	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Illinois	7½	2	1	½	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
Indiana	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Iowa	8	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Kansas	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Kentucky	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana	2½	1	—	—	2½	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Maine	5	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maryland	1	2	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—	—	1	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Michigan	2	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Minnesota	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	2	4	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Missouri	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Nebraska	3	4	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Hampshire	1	—	—	—	1½	½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	2	—	—	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—
New York	18	3	5	2	—	—	1	5	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
North Carolina	2	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Ohio	5	3	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Oregon	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	11	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Carolina	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Tennessee	3	3½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Texas	3	2	4	1	—	—	2½	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vermont	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	4	3	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
West Virginia	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
TOTAL.....	120	72½	31½	25	20½	17½	11	5	4	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	20	—

RECAPITULATION.

Tilden	120	Hoadly	4
McDonald	72½	Morrison	3
Bayard	31½	Eaton	2
Hancock	25	Parker	2
Butler	20½	Hewitt	2
Thurman	17½	Hendricks	1
Cleveland	11	Jewett	1
Randall	5	Palmer	1
Floyer	4	English	1

No Expression..... 20

Samuel J. Tilden's strength by this showing was at this time far in advance of that of any other of the party leaders, and there is no reason to doubt that the figures fairly represented the feeling of the Democracy. They indicate that throughout the country generally the Sage of Grammercy was apparently the strongest man in party favor, and that had the convention been held at the close of '83, Tilden, had he desired the nomination, and had his health permitted, could have secured it. These indications however were based on the general results which gave Tilden 120 votes in his favor—an amount nearly equal to the combined strength of the next three strongest candidates. But when examined a little more closely, the figures showed a result which tended to somewhat qualify this conclusion. It was noticed that in the states where the preferences expressed in his favor exceeded those for all the other candidates combined, his party was in the minority. In other words Tilden's strength in the party predominated in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, all solid Republican states, and in but one of which the party had any reasonable hope of triumph in the presidential contest. In his own state of New York he was first in only 18 of the 26 points heard from—a large majority it is true, but nothing like the undivided strength which should have been shown by a state for its "favorite son." His strength in Pennsylvania on the other hand was amazingly large, especially when it is considered that that state had no less than six of her sons in the list, and that she only recorded in favor of

the strongest of them all—Samuel J. Randall—three votes. Coming to an examination of the state of feeling in the South it was found that only in Georgia, Missouri, and Virginia, did he lead all the other candidates; in Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and West Virginia, he was equal to the strongest, but in the three Democratic states of Alabama, Delaware and Florida, he was not mentioned at all. It will thus be seen that at the close of 1883, Tilden's strength was more apparent than real, and that in the assuredly Democratic states which would naturally control the convention, the feeling, if not adverse to his candidacy, was at least not as overwhelmingly in his favor as to unmistakably designate him as the choice of his party.

Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana, although showing a total of only $72\frac{1}{2}$ preferences as against 120 for Tilden, was at this time really the more formidable candidate. While there are twelve states in which his name did not appear they are nearly all Republican. His friends muster in every pronounced Democratic state, with the single exception of Delaware, which honored her distinguished son, Thomas F. Bayard, with her entire vote. In his own state—Indiana—McDonald was a strong favorite, 8 out of the 11 preferences being recorded in his favor. In the Southern states he made an excellent showing, every one, without a single exception expressing preferences for him. He was weakest in New England, where not a solitary Democrat except in Rhode Island appears to have favored him; and the same absence of strength may be noted on the Pacific

slope. From this it will appear that McDonald was at this time the strongest man in his party in the North and South, the sections that possess the controlling power in shaping the destinies of the party.

Senator Bayard, of Delaware, led in his own state and the adjoining state of Maryland, but a glance at the list will show that at this time he was only regarded as available in fifteen of the thirty-eight states. The expression of preference in his favor was, however, more general than the total would seem to indicate, nearly every section of the country from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri River, and from the Lakes to the Gulf being represented by his admirers. Nine of the Southern states express a partial preference in his favor.

General Hancock appeared to have friends in seventeen of the states, but in none of them was there an overwhelming demand for his nomination.

Governor Butler, of Massachusetts, for reasons which will appear hereafter, deserves a more extended notice. It will be observed that in thirty of thirty-eight states from which returns had been received, his name was at this time ignored. Indeed, there is reason to believe that in one of the eight states in which a preference for him was expressed, the preference was in derision. With the exception of one voice in Louisiana, not a single Democrat in the Southern states could be found to express a desire in his favor. Outside of Massachusetts and Rhode Island there was no State in which his name was mentioned that his friends were not largely in the minor-

ity. But—and this is the most suggestive point in the record—it will be observed that his own state, Massachusetts, every section of the state being represented, gave him practically a solid vote as her first choice—the figures being 13 to 1. This, it is to be noted, was a compliment received by no other candidate in the same proportion, Bayard, of Delaware, alone excepted.

Thurman's $17\frac{1}{2}$ votes were too scattering and irregular to indicate much strength; Cleveland's total of 11 was not large enough to cause a panic among the other candidates; Randall's 5 points excited derision and commiseration and—but the work of comment may be suspended. When a party gets to figuring on such men as Flower, Joel Parker, and its Hewitts and Jewetts, it becomes necessary to draw the line. The line on Democratic candidates is consequently drawn right here.

VI.

THE DRIFT OF OPINION—1884.

THE beginning of a presidential year is invariably marked by a strange and peculiar action on the part of most of the public men of the nation who have had the fortune or misfortune to have their names mentioned in connection with the presidency during the year before. The fact that they are thus mentioned would seem to indicate that they were possessed of certain essential qualifications for that exalted office; that they were strong, ambitious, self-reliant men whose mental powers and intellectual gifts placed them away above the mass of their fellow-citizens. This, however, if they are to be judged by their subsequent actions, is clearly a mistake, for, as a rule, they make a tacit avowal of their weakness and helplessness by placing themselves "in the hands of their friends." Of the entire number of Republican and Democratic aspirants enrolled in the preceding pages there were but two who, in May, 1884, were not so placed. These two were at large, in full possession of their faculties, in sound mental and physical health and thoroughly able to take care of themselves: they were James G. Blaine, of Maine, and Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts. The events which had left these men their own masters, while those of the eighty odd candi-

dates who remained in the field were "in the hands of their friends," form a curious and interesting chapter in the history of American politics.

The Spring of 1884 found President Arthur strongly entrenched in the good opinion of the people. His administration had been remarkably satisfactory and free, in the main, from the taint of corruption in high places. While it was generally understood that he was a candidate for the Republican nomination, there had been no general movement on the part of his friends to secure it. He had skillfully thwarted the designs of the old party managers up to this time, and was apparently indifferent to everything except the good opinion of the people at large.

The attempt, earlier in the year, to start a Grant boom had fallen flat and covered its projectors with confusion. As expressing the general sentiment of the country the following from an editorial in the *New York Times* (February 7th), may be quoted :

* * * He (General Grant) deserved well of his country. He served the nation nobly in its hour of need and the nation gratefully and cheerfully paid the debt by heaping upon him greater honors than ever had been bestowed on a citizen of the Republic. But we submit that the people have a right to expect a receipt in full, and that it is the feeling that the days of Grant and Grantism and all that that implies, are over in this country for ever. The time has come when this nation is to be governed by its statesmen, not by its soldiers."

The Republican press, almost without an exception, gave expression to the same views, and three weeks later nothing was heard of the Grant boom. The men, however, who were instrumental in this movement were a

power not to be despised or ignored, and they made revengeful boasts that no Republican would or could be nominated and elected without their aid. This feeling was particularly manifested in New York, Illinois and in one or two other states, and in sullen silence the disaffected element awaited events. On the 10th of March the New York *Herald* contained an interview which was given double-leaded prominence and which astonished the country. It purported to be a conversation with "a prominent cabinet officer who was authorized to speak for the administration." A paragraph or two will give an idea of the tenor of this remarkable statement:

"Correspondent—And President Arthur then is a candidate for the nomination?

Mr. —. President Arthur is in the hands of his friends.

Correspondent—And his friends—

Mr. —. His friends feel that if the country is satisfied with his administration he is justified in asking for a term as President where he will be free from the embarrassments consequent upon the unfortunate circumstances under which he assumed office.

Correspondent—Then President Arthur is squarely a candidate.

Mr. —. President Arthur is a candidate for the nomination."

Three days later the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* telegraphed to that paper the following prediction: "I venture to say that in less than a week he (President Arthur) will make a vigorous attempt to strengthen his forces in New York, and that there will be some changes that will astonish the country. Ex-Senator Conkling has been here for forty-eight hours and at a conference held last night at the house of Secretary Chandler matters of grave moment were settled. Do not be surprised to hear that a treaty of peace has

been signed, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, effected." The correspondent proved to be right and two days later special despatches from Washington were in all the leading papers of the country giving more or less reliable details of the "reconciliation" between President Arthur and Ex-Senator Conkling, with the announcement that the latter had guaranteed to the President the solid support of the Grant Stalwarts in New York. The news created great excitement. Many of the Republican papers received it as an evidence of "complete harmony between the factions" but a large number kicked in the traces and denounced what they termed the "unholy alliance." In the meantime several changes in the federal offices in New York and Pennsylvania, caused great indignation, especially as one of the New York appointments was that of a notorious henchman of Mr. Conkling, who was utterly unfitted for the duties of the office to which he was commissioned. Commenting on this the *New York Tribune* in a leading editorial entitled "The Bargain and Sale" said :

"President Arthur mistakes the character of the people if he imagines that they are passive and disinterested witnesses of these transactions. His right to seek the nomination at the hands of his party no one will deny, but his action in displacing tried and satisfactory servants of the people to give place to those who have distinguished themselves by personal devotion to the fortunes of Mr. Conkling has neither right nor wisdom to commend it. President Arthur, by his recent acts, has surprised and pained his friends and given joy and comfort to his enemies."

The *Tribune*, in another column of the same issue, printed a number of letters from prominent Republicans, denouncing the President's course, and advocating a

concentration of that element of the party which had nothing in common with jobbers and jobbery, in favor of Senator Edmunds. But it was not alone in this respect that President Arthur was losing ground; he was getting into troubled waters in another direction. Emboldened by their success in former years, the Canadians had again begun to harass and annoy the New England fishermen and to exclude them from grounds their right to which had been established by the terms of the Canadian fisheries treaty. Then too, further developments showed that the Canadian and British authorities had conspired by means of perjured statements and false statistics, deliberately to rob the Government of the United States of the \$5,000,000 in gold, which was the award paid under the treaty at Halifax referred to. It was clearly demonstrated that this money was illegally and treacherously filched from this Government by a conspiracy, and that a large portion of the award had found its way into the pockets of the perjurors and tricksters concerned. The indignation caused by these disclosures and the failure of the Government to protect the fishermen in their rights, caused emphatic protests and demands for action from one end of the country to the other; and great mass meetings were held in Portland, Maine, and in Boston, to give expression to the voice of the people. At these meetings resolutions were adopted denouncing "a policy which tainted the American name with the stigma of cowardice, by a refusal to demand and insist upon the rights of our citizens." The first of these meetings was addressed by the Hon. James G.

Blaine; the second was presided over by Governor Butler, of Massachusetts.

In the meantime a Blaine movement had begun throughout the country, and was spreading with a rapidity and spontaneity that had not been equalled since the Lincoln campaign. Blaine clubs were being organized everywhere, and Blaine delegates, as such, were soliciting the suffrages of the people in opposition to Administrationists. The old politicians, who had feasted and fattened on the Republican party for years, were astonished at the force of the sentiment and enthusiasm in favor of the Man from Maine. Suddenly the Blaine movement assumed a new and unexpected phase. A number of prominent gentlemen, representing every state and territory of the Union, assembled in conference, in response to a call, in the Continental hotel, Philadelphia. These gentlemen were Republicans to a man; there were also, without exception, friends of Mr. Blaine, and the conference had been called to secure such united and harmonious action on their part as would result in making Mr. Blaine the Republican party's candidate for the presidency. After a long and earnest discussion, it was finally resolved that the adherents of the new movement should be known as Nationalists or National Republicans in contradistinction to the regular or Administration wing of the party. It was designed to form a new party, which should succeed the Republican party, but which, for the time being, was to act with it and within it. In its declaration of principles, the new party among other things demanded the following:

First. A vigorous foreign policy calculated to protect American citizens in their rights and to maintain the honor of the flag; a policy looking to the extension at the earliest practical moment, of the boundaries of the United States to their natural and geographical limits.

Second. A tariff calculated to foster, encourage and protect every branch of American industry from a ruinous competition with foreign goods made by pauper labor.

Third. The enactment of wise and just laws to protect the people from oppression by monopolies or monopolists of any class whatsoever; and

Fourth. Such national legislation as will restore American shipping to the prosperity and importance it enjoyed before the civil war.

Hundreds of thousands of Republicans and no inconsiderable number of Democrats hastened to identify themselves with the new movement which was to regenerate and rejuvenate the old party. The Administration press was bitterly hostile to the proceeding, and denounced the movement and its projectors in unmeasured terms. It was claimed to have been inspired by Blaine; that its purpose was the destruction of the Republican party, that its adherents were disguised Democrats, and that all giving it aid or comfort thereby forfeited their right to be called Republicans and should be denied representation in the convention. During all this time the Maine Statesman had made no sign. It was known that he would accept the nomination if it were tendered

him, but that he would make no personal effort to secure it. For the new movement and its results, his followers and admirers were responsible—not himself Blaine had managed matters with consummate skill. Out of public life, he had nothing to explain—nothing to defend. His book, "Twenty Years in Congress," had strengthened him immensely with people of all classes. It had proven a masterly exposition of the soundness of the policy of the Garfield administration in regard to the South American powers. He had aroused the people to a realization of the dangers that menaced the Republic in the event of foreign nations gaining a controlling power in the states contiguous to the Panama Canal, and he had awakened the dormant patriotism to such a degree that all true Americans felt that the time had come to assert to the world in the most unmistakable and emphatic terms, that the United States was the one sole power that controlled the destinies of the Western continent.

In the meantime there was a section of the Republicans which favored neither Arthur nor Blaine, but which, in its turn, was divided in its allegiance between Edmunds, of Vermont, and John Sherman, of Ohio. Such was the state of affairs in the Republican party in the Summer of 1884.

The Democracy were no less distracted. If there were dissensions in the Republican ranks, confusion worse confounded reigned supreme in the Democratic party, and threatened disruption and disaster. The year opened with Samuel J. Tilden far ahead of all competi-

tors in the race for the nomination. His supporters had captured the party organization in more than two-thirds of the states; his lines were well drawn, and the opposition forces had been weakened by rivalries and jealousies among themselves. Tammany had been appeased and mollified, and apparently a lasting truce, if not a genuine alliance had been effected between Tilden and John Kelly. It was now early in March and the Democratic prospect looked brightest. Suddenly came the astounding intelligence that rudely awakened the party from its dreams of assured success—Samuel J. Tilden was a helpless physical and mental wreck. The blow, long threatened, had fallen at last! The secret, known only to a few of the trusted party leaders, had been well kept for a week, and its disclosure took the country completely by surprise. But a still greater surprise was to come when it was discovered that the Sage of Grammercy had made his political will, and had named Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, as sole heir and successor, with Hendricks and Thurman, as executors and administrators. This attempt to dispose of the Democratic nomination as personal property raised hades. Almost every Democratic paper of any influence denounced it as an unparalleled piece of effrontery. The New York *Sun* declared that so far as Randall's chances were now concerned, he might just as well be laid in Tilden's family vault. Matters were now quite lively; they were destined to be more so. On March 18th, John Kelly's personal organ, the New York *Star*, came out with a double leaded editorial

which, after reviewing the claims of the various aspirants for the nomination, closed with these words :

"It is clear whatever strength Mr. Randall may have had—and we are prepared to concede that but for this act of Samuel J. Tilden he might have been the strongest man to nominate—he is no longer an available candidate, and may be considered as entirely out of the race. The Democratic party demands a candidate who stands squarely on his own merits. It demands a candidate who can be depended upon to carry New York and Pennsylvania. We believe that neither Mr. Bayard nor Mr. McDonald can do this. But if we have read aright of the signs of the times, the party will turn to the dauntless and brilliant leader whose personal strength, well won victories, and enthusiastic following, give the strongest assurance of a glorious triumph. We refer to General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts.

No such sensation had been sprung on the Democratic party in its history. An alliance between Butler of Massachusetts, and Tammany's chieftain, John Kelly, of New York! The Southern papers were up in arms ; they fairly howled. This, from the *Mobile Register*, may be taken as a fair sample of the rest:

* * Take Ben. Butler—Beast Butler as a Democratic candidate ! Nominate the spoon-thief, the tyrant of New Orleans, the ogre whose poisonous breath cast the deadly insult on Southern womanhood ! The grand old Democratic party nominate this man ! By the memory of the sacred cause in which our noblest and bravest up gave their lives ; by the hopes dear to every Southern heart ; by the names of Lee and Jackson, and by our love for the bonnie blue banner they bore, we say, *never ! NEVER ! NEVER !*

And nobody dared to say "what, never ;" it wouldn't have been a judicious joke in the South about that time. In the North, the Democratic press was divided. In New England nearly all the leading organs of the party were already committed to Butler ; but in New York and Pennsylvania, some of the prominent

papers were bitterly opposed to his candidacy. The Philadelphia *Times* which favored Bayard with McDonald as its second choice, was most outspoken. It declared that to nominate Butler, would be to sound the death-knell of the party, and drive tens of thousands of decent and self-respecting Democrats into the Republican ranks, "We state as our deliberate conviction," concluded the *Times*, "that Benjamin F. Butler could not come within 50,000 votes of carrying Pennsylvania." The Pittsburg *Post*, another influential Democratic paper in Western Pennsylvania, took a similar view. In the interior of the state, however, and in the strongest Democratic counties, the press was pretty generally in favor of Butler, one paper, the Reading *Eagle*, going so far as to place his name at the head of the editorial column, as its "first, last, and only choice." In the Western states, McDonald had a powerful following, nearly all the Tilden and anti-Butler strength consolidating in his favor. There was but one leading western journal at this time outspoken for Butler. That was the Chicago *Times*, which held that he was the only man who could carry the doubtful states. The battle waged fiercely for a month. There came another surprise. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* in an article which commanded widespread attention, and which bore the unmistakable imprint of Mr. Henry Watterson's fine Roman hand, began to recognize the strength of the Butler boom, and to admit the probability of his nomination. A few extracts from this article will be found instructive reading :

* * General Butler is now fairly in the field as a Democratic candidate, and outside of the Southern states, has a larger following than any of his competitors. He is not a man to be deterred by trifles, nor to be daunted by difficulties, however, insurmountable they may appear to others. His success in Massachusetts has already demonstrated this. It has been alleged that his nomination would cost the Democratic party every Southern state. Is this true? We think not. Let us reason for a moment. Assuming that he could carry New York and Pennsylvania with their combined 66 votes, and that with him and with him only as its standard-bearer, the Democracy can hold Massachusetts, he would have 80 votes in the electoral count to start with. Deducting from the Democratic column the purely Southern states, there yet remain New Jersey, Connecticut, Colorado, Indiana, Nevada, Oregon, and California, with a total vote of 47. General Butler, assuming that he could carry all the states named, and if nominated, he is reasonably certain to do so, would thus have 127 votes. He would then require 74 votes to make the 201 necessary. The total vote of the Southern and reliably Democratic states, amounts to 168. Does any sane person suppose for a moment that all these states are going to be lost to the Democratic party simply because a majority of the delegates of the party in the national convention assembled nominate General Butler for president? We can speak for Kentucky and her 18 votes. But it is useless to consider such a result as a serious possibility. Assuming, however, that one-half of the Southern states proved recreant to the faith of their fathers, and by their treachery or indifference perilled Democratic success, General Butler would still have enough to elect him. These facts should be borne in mind. And here we may add, that it would be well for our brethren in the South to avoid such a lavish use of epithets in discussing these matters. It is neither wise nor dignified to use them, and they may return to plague those who do so at no distant day. ** The South is not in a position to dictate to the Democratic party of the nation. Vast changes have been wrought in twenty-five years. There are other sections of the country where Democrats are just as jealous of their rights and privileges as we are. One point more. If, when a majority of the party nominate a candidate, a disappointed minority is to appear in the role of destructionists, then the sooner the Democratic party realizes that success is hopeless the better for all concerned."

A still more remarkable change of heart, so to speak, was in store for the party. The most influential

Democratic organ in the Southern states—the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*—republished the foregoing editorial from the *Courier-Journal*, and commenting upon it said:

It must not be forgotten that even here, in New Orleans, he (Butler) is not without friends. We are no apologist for his course during the war, but there are not wanting those who recall the fact that it was due to General Butler that the city was saved from the horrors of famine and pestilence. That he was harsh and tyrannical in his administration as Military Governor, cannot be denied, but it has been urged in extenuation, that the exigencies of the times forced him to extremes, which he has since regarded with regret. * * It is, of course, unpleasant to contemplate the probability of General Butler receiving the nomination from the Democratic party, but we venture to say, that there are hundreds of thousands of Southern Democrats who will not hesitate to sacrifice personal prejudice at the shrine of party fealty, rather than suffer the evils of Radical misrule for another generation.

It will be seen that the Southern press was beginning to hedge as gracefully as possible, and to swallow the pill with the best face it could. Not all of the Southern papers however, did so. A few of the ultra sheets in the Bourbon districts continued as rabid as ever and fretted, and frothed and fumed in a delirious sort of style. The Republican press in the North, viewed the possible nomination of Butler with mixed feelings of amusement and apprehension. By some of those papers, he was regarded as the “weakest candidate the Democracy could nominate;” others took an entirely different view, and warned their readers that “the (Republican) party in Massachusetts had suffered from nursing the same delusion, and that the effort to frighten Butler by blowing the brass horn of ridicule, had proved an

ignominous failure. Of the latter class of papers, the Philadelphia *Press*, the Chicago *Tribune*, and the Cincinnati *Commercial* were most outspoken. The *Press* thought Butler "not only the most popular, but the ablest leader of his party;" the *Tribune* regarded him as "fertile in resources, and the candidate of all others to inspire courage in a forlorn hope;" and the *Commercial* was of opinion "that Republicans who regard Butler as a candidate who is content with the empty honor of a nomination without the solid reward of an election, only betray their gross ignorance of the man and his methods." All the time the Man of Massachusetts was quietly shaping events. He had not placed himself in the hands of his friends once; on the contrary his friends had placed themselves in his hands, and he was handling them to perfection in every part of the country. McDonald's star continued in the ascendant in the West, but in the other parts of the country its brilliancy was dimmed. Bayard developed no enthusiasm outside of his own state, and Randall was not seriously considered. There were one or two other names mentioned, but it is hardly worth space to consider them. Such was the state of affairs in May. On the 10th of that month the New York *Herald* published two remarkable tables. They were the results of inquiries addressed to over 430 points in the thirty-eight states, regarding the strength and popularity of the various candidates of both parties. The 414 replies received gave the result shown on the following page:

THE PREFERENCES OF THE PEOPLE.

STATES.	REPUBLICAN.					DEMOCRATIC.					
	Blaine.	Arthur.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Scattering.	McDonald.	Butler.	Bayard.	Randall.	Tilden.	Scattering.
Alabama.....	1	6	1	1	1	8	.....	.....	1	1	.....
Arkansas.....	2	5	1	.....	.....	6	.....	1	1	1	.....
California.....	5	.....	.....	1	.....	1	3	1	1	1	.....
Colorado.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	3	1	2	2	.....	.....	4	1	.....	.....	1
Delaware.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	.....	3	.....	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	1	1
Georgia.....	1	5	2	.....	2	6	1	1	1	1	1
Illinois.....	7	7	2	.....	1	7	4	3	3	3	.....
Indiana.....	4	5	5	2	.....	11	2	1	1	1	.....
Iowa.....	11	2	3	3	1	7	5	3	3	1	1
Kansas.....	5	2	2	1	.....	4	2	1	2	.....	1
Kentucky.....	4	5	1	.....	.....	7	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	1	7	.....	.....	1	5	1	2	.....	1	.....
Maine.....	9	1	.....	1	1	2	8	1	1	1	.....
Maryland.....	4	4	2	1	.....	5	1	3	1	1	1
Massachusetts.....	7	3	.....	6	.....	.....	15	1	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	5	.....	4	4	1	6	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	4	.....	.....	1	.....	2	1	1	1	1	.....
Mississippi.....	1	5	2	.....	1	6	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	2	4	1	1	1	4	2	.....	1	1	1
Nebraska.....	7	2	2	1	1	6	4	2	1	.....	.....
Nevada.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
New Jersey.....	3	5	.....	1	2	3	5	1	2	.....	.....
New York.....	13	27	.....	1	3	7	23	10	4	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	2	4	.....	.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	2	1	12	.....	1	7	6	2	.....	1	.....
Oregon.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	19	3	2	3	1	5	11	2	9	1	.....
Rhode Island.....	2	1	1	3	1	2	5	1	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	6	.....	1	.....	4	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	1	4	3	3	.....	5	1	4	1	.....	.....
Texas.....	6	6	1	3	.....	7	2	3	2	1	1
Vermont.....	1	.....	.....	7	.....	1	6	1	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	5	3	.....	1	.....	12	1	5	1	1	1
West Virginia.....	3	2	.....	1	1	2	1	2	1	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	5	4	1	.....	1	3	4	1	2	.....	1
Total.....	159	137	48	46	24	148	136	71	40	11	8

RECAPITULATION.

REPUBLICAN.	DEMOCRATIC.
Blaine.....	159
Arthur.....	137
Sherman.....	48
Edmunds.....	46
Scattering.....	24
McDonald.....	148
Butler.....	136
Bayard.....	71
Randall.....	40
Tilden.....	11
Scattering.....	8

The foregoing exhibit so clearly shows how opinion had drifted and how party strength had centered on the several candidates that it is unnecessary to dwell further upon the subject. It may be added that subsequent inquiries in the same direction showed but little change, and that the respective candidates maintained their relative strength up to the opening of their party conventions.

—The Republican National Committee after a heated debate selected, by a vote of 26 to 18, Philadelphia as the place for holding the national convention. This was regarded as a victory for Blaine.

The Democratic National Committee after a two days' session in Washington, decided upon holding the convention in Louisville, Ky. The vote was 29 to 15. This was regarded as a victory for McDonald.

VII.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

IN the circumscribed limits of a work of this character, it is obviously impossible to attempt anything like a detailed history of the conventions. The cold, hard facts given in the preceding chapter show that only the barest outline of events is attempted and that all other considerations have been sacrificed to absolute historical accuracy. It is on this ground that the work rests its claims to recognition and a place in the Sunday-school libraries of our land. It is now proposed to give merely a sketch of those proceedings in the Philadelphia convention which are of general interest, and which more directly concern the result. The descriptive matter is mainly taken from the special dispatches of the well-known correspondent "H. G. D," to the journal he represented on the occasion.

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The scene is an inspiring one; it is a living, breathing epic illustrative of the grandeur of a government of, by and for the people. As the eye wanders over the vast auditorium it rests here and there on men mighty in the science of war, famed in the pursuits of peace. That commanding figure on the right with the leonine locks is Logan of Illinois. Near him bends a stately

form in deferential respect to a man whose whitened hair and bent figure tell of a life's work nearly done; it is Ex-Senator Conkling of New York, saluting Ex-Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania. That man on the right with his shiny, good-humored, rosy face, is Ex-Governor Tom Young, of Ohio. There is Frye of Maine, moving about with nervous impatient stride among his delegation. Those two fine figures are Alonzo B. Cornell, of New York, and Senator Windom, of Minnesota. The man with the crutch—Beaver of Pennsylvania, stops and shakes hands with one of the most marked and remarkable men in the convention—Frederick Douglass. There is a rather remarkable group on the aisle to the left. That scholarly-looking gentleman with the fine white hair is Senator Hoar. His vis-a-vis is John Wanamaker, the merchant prince of Philadelphia. They have just been introduced by an ex-governor of Pennsylvania, John F. Hartranft. There are scores of men whose names are as household words throughout the nation. Hark! There is a mighty shout without the walls; it is taken up at the entrance and the vast assemblage rises to its feet, in another moment to greet with three times three rousing cheers, the gallant general of the army, Philip Sheridan.

* * *

Hon. George H. Boker is presiding. He has succeeded at last in calming the storm of enthusiasm. A well-knit figure moves to the front of the platform and raises his hands. It is Bishop Simpson in prayer.

* * *

The convention has been in session three hours. Committees on permanent organization, credentials, rules and platform, have been appointed.

There is a motion to adjourn. It is made by an Administration delegate. It is part of the tactics of the Arthur men; the object is delay. To proceed to a ballot now means to nominate Blaine. To-night a coalition between the friends of Arthur and "the field" may be effected. There is disorder, but the motion to adjourn is declared carried by a majority of 57. The convention has finished its first days work.

* * *

It is the second day. The Committee on Platform has been in session eleven hours. It is evident that there has been a determined struggle. It is known that the Blaine men have insisted on the recognition of the Nationalists, and that if they have succeeded, the platform will indicate their victory. There is a pause; and now a grand cheer, repeated again and again, is heard as the words "the National Republican party" fall from the lips of the reader. The platform follows:

* * *

The National Republican party in united convention assembled at Philadelphia, reaffirms the principles which it has maintained since it was first entrusted with supreme power by the American people. It points to its past as the best guarantee for its course in the future. It has preserved the nation; given freedom to the slave and franchise to the freedman; it has restored and maintained the national credit; reduced the public debt; cared

for the soldier and protected the widows and educated the orphans of the brave men who fell for the Union in the civil war; it has developed the internal resources of the country; perfected a successful civil service, and it has preserved American industry from the blighting and disastrous effects of a foreign competition where cheapness is obtained by pauper paid labor; and it points to day at the close of twenty-four years of power to a Nation of fifty-five millions blessed with peace, progress and prosperity. And the National Republican party further proclaims and affirms:

First. That any tariff so based as to admit the product of foreign manufacturers at prices that will compel a reduction of the wages of American working-men, is calculated to cause disaster to our industries. The strength and greatness of the Republic, developed as they have been by a tariff for protection, must not be imperilled. We denounce the Democratic party as the American allies of British free traders and their pernicious doctrine of "a tariff for revenue only," as a direct blow at American industrial and commercial prosperity. The National Republican party demands a tariff for protection where a tariff for protection is required.

Second. The assumption by a foreign nation of the power to interfere with American citizens in their peaceful pursuits in territory, their right to which had been recognized and reaffirmed by treaty, we regard as a direct menace to this Government; and we protest against such assumption as an insult to the American flag. We demand the abrogation of the treaty of Hali-

fax, at the earliest possible time, and such action thereafter as will secure to American fishermen the unchallenged right to follow their avocations at any and all points on the coast line of the Northern continent.

Third. We view with jealous watchfulness the persistent efforts of European powers to obtain territorial rights on this continent, and under the disguise of colonization schemes to secure such points of vantage as will give them practical control of the Panama Canal. And we declare that the said canal should be and shall be under the protection and direction of the Government of the United States, whose interests are paramount to those of all other nations.

Fourth. We favor such legislation as will promote the revival and secure the permanent prosperity of American shipping interests, and thereby relieve the people from the heavy tax of hundreds of millions of dollars paid for freight carried in foreign bottoms.

Fifth. We endorse the wise and conservative administration of President Arthur, and applaud his efforts to promote civil service reform in all branches of the Government; and we reaffirm our advocacy of a civil service based on sound principles of efficiency and economy.

Sixth. The growth of oppressive monopolies assuming to be above and beyond the control of the laws of the land should be discouraged, and their powers and privileges limited and controlled. Such monopolies are opposed to the spirit of American institutions, and may become a source of danger to the state.

Seventh. The right of American citizens, native or naturalized, to travel on business or pleasure in foreign countries without vexatious and oftentimes unjust and uncalled for detentions should be maintained; and when such citizens are unjustly and falsely accused of offences, it should be the duty of this Government to insist upon compensation and reparation for such annoyance and delay.

Eighth. We are opposed to the distribution of any surplus now, or that may hereafter be, in the treasury for educational or other purposes, in any state or states, for purely state purposes, believing that such distribution would be in violation of the constitution.

Ninth. The harbor and coast defences of the United States should be largely increased and their efficiency thoroughly maintained, and we favor such legislation as will provide all means necessary to this end.

Tenth. Any unjust discrimination in appropriations for internal improvements should be avoided. We favor such action as will preserve the great valleys of our Western rivers from the destructive overflows by which are periodically devastated, and the appointment of a national commission to devise ways and means to prevent such destruction.

Eleventh. The National Republican party believes that a return to power by the Democracy would be fraught with danger to the welfare of the country; that the Democracy has proved its unfitness to be entrusted with the control of the destinies of the nation, and that its open advocacy in favor of free trade would unsettle

values, thereby precipitating panic and distress. Believing this, and pointing to its own record for nearly a quarter of a century, the National Republican party confidently presents its claims to the renewed and continued support of the American people.

* * *

A score of delegates sprang to their feet and a scene of wild disorder followed. Half-a-dozen amendments were proposed in a breath. Thundrous shouts of "Question" came from the galleries. Pandemonium reigned. The Chair was powerless to suppress the disorder. Cries of "Amend," "Amend," were heard from hundreds of voices. The critical test of strength was coming. A vote was finally taken and the platform adopted by a majority of 39. It was the beginning of the end. Blaine's friends burst into a wild cheer, and now that they realized their strength they forced the fighting. The convention proceeded with the nominations.

* * *

Hon. Emory Storrs, of Chicago, has nominated Arthur in a spirit which is admittedly the finest forensic effort of the convention. The call of states goes on. Pennsylvania is reached and Hon. Thomas M. Marshall, of Pittsburg rises. It is known that he has been selected to nominate Blaine. As the fine head with its iron gray locks appears in front, thunders of applause shake the building. Marshall as he stands unmoved amid the tumult is the ideal of an orator. Hark! His voice fills the vast building. He has begun:

*

*

*

* * * "It has been said that the Republican party has completed its work ; that its mission is ended. Is that the message you bear ? ("No, No,") No ! Its work is not ended ; its glorious mission has just begun (cheers.) The Republican party is immortal—it can never die. Its principles—its vital principles—Truth, Justice, Patriotism—these, these are eternal, immortal, imperishable (great cheering.) The party to-day stands united, unfettered, free. It points to its glorious record of the past ; it is ready for its equally glorious work in the future. The party of soldiers, of statesmen, and of martyrs has finished the work of its lusty youth ; it enters on the task of its strong manhood. And here, on the threshold of that task, here at this momentous epoch of its history, it awaits its standard bearer. It calls upon you to give it a leader worthy of its fame ; it asks you for a chieftain worthy of the host he is to lead to battle and to victory (cheers.) It is not alone the voice of Pennsylvania ; it is the desire not alone of New England—it is the demand of the Nation. It is heard in thunder tones from the rock bound coast of Maine to where the waves of the Pacific lave the golden sands of California, and its echoes are borne from the shores of the Mexican gulf to where the great lakes sound their murmerous protest against the domination of a foreign flag. It is the Republican party that speaks—the National Republican party—the party that preserved the Union and that freed the slave—it is that party that speaks to-day, and that asks you, its delegates and rep-

representatives in National Convention assembled to nominate the dauntless leader, the peerless patriot, the strong statesmen, James G. Blaine, of Maine." (tremendous cheering.)

* * *

The other candidates were named. There was an attempt made to adjourn but the die was cast. And now began one of the most thrilling scenes ever witnessed in a political convention. The spectators as they entered the building in the morning, had each been handed a copy of a song, entitled "The Battle Cry of '84." At this moment when half a hundred delegates were on their feet trying to gain recognition from the Chair, there rose above the tumult a strong, powerful voice in song. Then a dozen people in different parts of the building took up the words. It was evidently a well conceived and prearranged plan. The people turning to their copies of the song joined in the chorus, and it rang out in thunder tones:

See his white plumes waving high,
Hark! the glorious battle cry;
Our cause still lives, it cannot die—
 Our leader—Blaine of Maine.
Once again we'll face the foe;
Once again we'll lay him low;
Once again our prowess show—
 We're led by Blaine of Maine.

And so forth through half a dozen verses. The Chair made frantic efforts to calm the storm. He might as well have tried to calm a cyclone as to still the mighty volume of sound that rose and swelled in the chorus of "Blaine of Maine." The first ballot began :

THE FIRST BALLOT.

STATES.

	No. Del.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Sherman.	Edmunds.	Windom.	Grant.	Logan.
Alabama.....	20	2	11	2	5	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	14	3	9	1	1	.....	.....	.....
California.....	16	14	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	5	3	1	3	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	2	1	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	2	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	24	7	12	2	2	1	.....	.....
Illinois.....	44	28	10	.....	3	3	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	15	6	7	1	1	1	.....
Iowa.....	26	22	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	18	13	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	26	12	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	.....	7	2	1	5	1	.....
Maine.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	7	5	3	1	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	20	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	26	18	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	14	7	2	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	6	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	32	11	18	1	2	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	10	4	2	1	2	1	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	8	3	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	2	13	2	1	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	72	21	47	3	.....	1	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	22	6	14	.....	.....	1	1	1
Ohio.....	46	5	3	38	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	60	42	12	4	1	1	1	1
Rhode Island.....	8	3	1	1	3	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	18	5	12	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	9	12	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	26	8	14	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	24	8	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	12	5	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	11	5	2	4	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington Territory.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming Territory.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total Vote.....	822	354	307	72	62	13	8	6

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes cast.....	822	John Sherman.....	72
Necessary to a Choice.....	412	George F. Edmunds.....	62
James G. Blaine.....	354	William Windom.....	13
Chester A. Arthur.....	307	Ulysses S. Grant.....	8

John A. Logan..... 6

The Blaine men were in a position to push matters to a crisis. There was a brief parliamentary struggle; it ended in the announcement by the chair of another ballot. The second ballot began amidst terrible confusion, but order was finally restored. The result was a foregone conclusion from the beginning when Alabama, amidst the wildest cheering, broke for Blaine, giving him the Sherman and Edmunds strength, as well as two of the eleven votes before cast for Arthur. Arkansas followed, and when California gave "in obvious response to the desire of the nation and the feeling of the convention her sixteen votes for James G. Blaine," the result was beyond preadventure. The enthusiasm was unbounded and was soon communicated to the 20,000 Republicans gathered outside the building. These took up the shouts, "Blaine of Maine," and the grand refrain, as it was borne back into the building finished the work even before Pennsylvania was reached on the call. After this there was the regular stampede to the winning candidate, and Blaine's nomination was announced. When the fact became known in the city, Philadelphia went wild with joy. One hundred guns was fired from George's Hill. Blaine clubs were formed in every ward where they did not already exist, and an impromptu demonstration in which nearly 50,000 men took part was ready to greet the delegates when the convention adjourned. The official figures of the second ballot which made James G. Blaine the Republican candidate for President of the United States are as follows:

THE SECOND BALLOT.

STATES.	No. of Del.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Sherman.	Edmonds.	Windom.	Hoar.	Grant.
Alabama.....	20	11	9					
Arkansas.....	14	19	3	1				
California.....	16	16						
Colorado.....	6	5						
Connecticut.....	12	9	3					
Delaware.....	6	2	4					
Florida.....	8	3	5					
Georgia.....	24	9	15					
Illinois.....	44	31	9		1	1		2
Indiana.....	30	22	7	1				
Iowa.....	26	23	2		1			
Kansas.....	18	14	4					
Kentucky.....	26	15	11					
Louisiana.....	16	5	10					1
Maine.....	14	14						
Maryland.....	16	9	6		1			
Massachusetts.....	28	20	4		1			3
Michigan.....	26	19	7					
Minnesota.....	14	9	1					4
Mississippi.....	16	7	9					
Missouri.....	32	12	19		1			
Nebraska.....	10	7	2					1
Nevada.....	6	1	5					
New Hampshire.....	8	4	1		3			
New Jersey.....	18	7	11					
New York.....	72	24	48					
North Carolina.....	22	10	12					
Ohio.....	46	26	11	9				
Oregon.....	6	6						
Pennsylvania.....	60	51	8		1			
Rhode Island.....	8	5	3					
South Carolina.....	18	13	5					
Tennessee.....	24	20	4					
Texas.....	26	25	1					
Vermont.....	10	10						
Virginia.....	24	21	3					
West Virginia.....	12	12						
Wisconsin.....	22	20	1					1
Arizona.....	2	2						
Dakota.....	2	2						
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1					
Idaho.....	2	2						
Montana.....	2	2						
New Mexico.....	2	1	1					
Utah.....	2	2						
Washington.....	2	2						
Wyoming.....	2	2						
Total vote.....	822	543	245	11	10	7	3	3

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes Cast.....	822	John Sherman.....	11
Necessary to a Choice.....	412	George F. Edmunds.....	10
James G. Blaine.....	543	William Windom.....	7
Chester A. Arthur.....	245	George F. Hoar.....	3

Ulysses S. Grant..... 3

The President:—James G. Blaine, of Maine, having received a majority of the whole vote cast is nominated for President of the United States. Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

And thereupon, on motion of Hon. Emory Storrs, of Chicago it was declared that JAMES G. BLAINE, of MAINE, was unanimously nominated for President of the United States, by the National Republican party in Union Convention assembled.

VIII.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Louisville was in gala dress for the occasion. Her magnificent exhibition building had never been more beautifully decked and draped, not even when a president of the United States was the honored guest within its confines. The fairest women of the South lent the charm of their presence to enhance the beauty of the scene. Without, the delegates were streaming in masses to the building. The day was a perfect one—such a perfect day as is only possible in sunny South land. The music of song birds was in the air—the balmy air that, laden with the scents of sweet blossoms and cloves and things, played around the fevered brows of the men who were there on their way to make or mar the grand old Democratic party.

* * *

Hon. William A. Wallace, of Pennsylvania, has been appointed temporary chairman of the committee; and his address in opening the proceedings is notable for its strong appeal for moderation in speech, and harmony in action. "I would not that in a Democratic convention," says the Chair, "there should be any restriction upon free speech, but, gentlemen of the convention, remember that the eyes of the party are upon

us to-day, and let us prove by the moderation of our language, and the wisdom of our acts that we are not insensible of the gravity and importance of the duty they have chosen us to perform." Mr. Wallace takes his seat amid a storm of cheers. He has put the convention into good humor with itself.

* * *

There is nothing particularly suggestive about the appointment of the committees except that Hon. Frank Hurd, of Ohio, is a member of the committee on platform. He is, perhaps, the most ultra free-trader in the party, and he has openly avowed his purpose to use his every influence to commit his party to a square adherence to his principles.

* * *

There is one man in this convention who is attracting considerable attention—it is Fitzgerald, of New Orleans, perhaps the most marked man of any of the Southern delegates. He has openly boasted that he is in favor of the nomination of Butler, and that his delegation is not instructed for McDonald as had been supposed. This is a most important and suggestive "straw," and has been telegraphed over the country. As a result, Fitzgerald has to-day received about a bushel of telegrams. These messages convey all sorts of promises from that of the "thanks of the solid Democracy of old Massachusetts," to "the execration of every Southern man who fought for the flag"—what flag is not stated.

* * *

There is a general feeling that wiser counsels will prevail, and that the threatened bolt will not take place in the event of Butler's nomination. It has just transpired that eighty-seven of the Southern delegates have signed an agreement, under no circumstances to vote for Butler, and it is understood that a large minority of this number are in favor of bolting if he shall be nominated. A strong effort is being made to have this agreement nullified, the most prominent leaders of the party pointing out that this act would so disgust the Democracy north, as to make them vote the Republican ticket or remain away from the polls. The incident has given rise to some very bitter feelings, but at this writing, there is an indication that they may be allayed.

* * *

A heated debate has sprung up over the report of the committee on rules. A minority report has been presented granting the right to the territorial delegates to vote. The Southern members are opposing this; they have carried their point by a majority of 53.

* * *

The Committee on Platform has announced that it is ready to report. The Committee on Credentials is given precedence.

* * *

The announcement that the Tammany delegation has been admitted has been received with tremendous cheers by the Butler delegates, and the Massachusetts

delegation have a large banner bearing a portrait of General Butler, which they are frantically waving.

* * *

The platform has been read, amended, and read again, debated and finally adopted by a close vote. It is as follows :

* * *

The Democracy of the United States in National Convention assembled, affirm and declare the principles presented in previous platforms, and pledge anew their fealty to those teachings of the party enunciated by the great expounder of Constitutional government, Thomas Jefferson.

First.—We arraign the Republican party before that great tribunal, the American People, for its corrupt and scandalous administration ; for perjury and theft in high places ; for the misappropriation of the public money ; and for the failure to punish the ring of treasury thieves, who, by conspiracy and collusion in office, have stolen millions of money. We charge the Republican party with having made the administration of the government a by-word and a disgrace among the nations of the earth ; with having rewarded the men who do its dirty work by debauching the ballot, with the gift of its high offices, and with having deceived the people by the pretended adoption of a system of civil service reform, which is in reality a delusion and a cheat.

Second.—We declare in favor of a tariff for revenue based upon the rights of the people at large, and such a tariff as shall inflict no unjust discrimination on one

class of the community for the benefit of another; but such declaration shall not be so construed as to indicate a tariff calculated to favor or foster monopoly in any form.

Third.—We charge the Republican administration with having failed in its duty to protect native and adopted citizens from insult by foreign powers. We believe and assert that all citizens, native or naturalized, are entitled to the protection of the American flag, when traveling on legitimate business or pleasure abroad.

Fourth.—The Panama Canal should be under the protection of the American flag.

Fifth.—The decline of American shipping prosperity, owing to the iniquitous and unjust tariff levied on materials necessary in the ship-building trades, we charge on the Republican party; and we declare our hostility to any form of subsidy, and we believe that an open market for American shipowners will restore our flag to its once proud position on the seas.

Sixth.—We oppose all schemes for the governmental purchase of telegraph lines, believing that such projects are unwise and against the traditions of this government. Such a step we denounce as showing a dangerous tendency towards further centralization, and we believe that this tendency should be sternly checked and discouraged.

Seventh.—We oppose monopolies in all forms, when by the exercise of the powers entrusted to them, they become oppressive to the people.

Eighth.—The standing army, sufficiently large for the protection of our frontier, should not be increased.

Ninth.—A civil service should be adapted to a Democratic form of government; and we are opposed to any form of civil service which will result in the creation of a permanent office-holding aristocracy, believing that such a system is not in accord with the spirit of American institutions.

Tenth.—We favor a judicious expenditure for the protection of the valleys of the West from the floods that now annually cause want and suffering.

Eleventh.—We believe in maintaining the public faith; in honest money; in protection for labor; and in freedom from all oppressive and sumptuary laws.

Twelfth.—The right to a free ballot-box is the heritage of every American, and the exercise of that right shall never be impeached.

Thirteenth.—We oppose the purchase of large tracts of land by foreign capitalists, believing that if unchecked it would lead to a system of serfdom on American soil; American lands should be held in sacred trust for actual settlers only.

Fourteenth.—The disclosures of fraud and corruption by the office-holders of the Republican party, suggest that greater crimes are yet to be discovered and proclaimed, and the guilty parties brought to punishment. And the Democratic party pledges its most earnest and tireless effort to accomplish this; and to free our government from the control of the men who have robbed

it, and to promote a civil service honestly and economically administered for the good of the whole American people.

* * *

Nominations are in order at last. Hon. John P. Irish, of Iowa has named Joseph E. McDonald, in a masterly speech. The cheers show plainly that McDonald has a firm grip over most of the Western and nearly all the Southern delegates; but he is notably weak in the East. Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, places the name of Bayard before the convention; and now Hon. Lyman Abbot, of Massachusetts, takes the floor. He is about to nominate Benjamin F. Butler—

* * *

* * * Massachusetts owes something to Benjamin F. Butler, and the Democracy throughout the Union owes much to Massachusetts. For with us in New England, Democracy has not always been triumphant Victory when won, has been won by such sacrifices of time and labor and money, by such devotion to our party and to the success of our candidates as can hardly be imagined in the states where Democratic success is always assured and Democratic majorities always certain. To redeem Massachusetts from Radical misrule was no easy task. The enemy was strongly entrenched in place and power; it had the support of the influential and the wealthy; it was the ally of the great moneyed corporations of the state. Proud in its powers and arrogant in its ascendancy, it deemed itself invincible and impregnable. Twice before had the Democracy of the state as-

saulted the position; twice before had the Democracy been repulsed, but not routed; defeated, but not dismayed. But, sir, we rallied once again under the Democratic standard, and led by the invincible and dauntless captain who will, I trust, lead the Democracy of the Union to victory—(cheers)—we routed the enemy and a Democratic governor sits in old Massachusetts to-day. (loud cheers.) The Democracy of Massachusetts, Mr. Chairman, owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the leader whose energy, eloquence and indomitable courage achieved this result, and the Democracy of Massachusetts, in a united delegation is ready here to day to pay the obligation it is proud to acknowledge to Benjamin F. Butler (great cheering.) But, sir, Massachusetts does not attempt to dictate to the Democracy, North or South. She stands here pledging her faith to Benjamin F. Butler, but ready to follow with loyal heart any standard bearer whom the National Convention shall see fit to honestly and honorably nominate (cheers.) If Benjamin F. Butler be, as I believe he will be—(cheers)—the nominee of this convention (renewed cheering)—I venture to say for my party, for the grand old Democratic party, that he will have the loyal and generous support that he himself would give any other candidate who may be named (cheers.) I do not believe, sir, that any Democrat would be so false to his principles, so false to his party, as to refuse to support the man chosen by a fair ballot in a fair convention of fair minded delegates representing the Democratic party of the nation. (cheers.) If there are such men, their place is not here. No—

Who would be a traitor knave,
Who could be so base a slave,
Who would fill a coward's grave.

Let him turn and flee.

Such, sir, are the sentiments of the Democracy of Massachusetts—are the sentiments, I believe, of the party in every state of the Union. We want no skulkers in our ranks; no traitors in our camp. We are here today to select a leader. Let us select a candidate who has all the elements of success. We cannot afford to take any risks. We need a leader who can inspire the Democracy in every doubtful state with courage, with enthusiasm, and with the confidence that leads to victory. Such a man I have the honor to propose in the name of the Democracy of Massachusetts—General Benjamin F. Butler." (Tremendous cheering.)

* * *

There were the usual speeches in seconding the nominations. The enthusiasm which had greeted the mention of Butler's name by the mass of the Northern delegates was evidently a surprise to the Southern men. They did not know just how to take it. There were no incidents worthy of note until just before the first ballot began. Then one man in the Convention surprised it.

* * *

The redoubtable Fitzgerald, of the Louisiana delegation, secured the floor for a personal explanation.

Senator Vest saw what was coming and tried to prevent him speaking on a point of order.

The chair sustained Fitzgerald.

The assemblage waited.

"Mr. President," said the New Orleans leader, "I rise on behalf of the Louisiana delegation to repel any assault on its loyalty to the Democratic party, and to state—with the full concurrence of my colleagues—that the Democracy of Louisiana pledge their support and confidence to any gentleman nominated by this Convention."

The uproar was deafening; cheers and hisses fought for supremacy. The cheers had it. The importance of the episode was hardly appreciated at the time; its immediate effect was to silence at the beginning, the statement that the Louisiana delegation stood pledged as a unit to leave the convention in the event of Butler's nomination. Fitzgerald's words produced marked and boisterous confidence among the ranks of the Butler supporters, and they now made boasts that their man would be nominated on the second ballot.

The friends of McDonald and Bayard had one ray of hope and that was that the Butler line, after the first ballot, would begin to weaken, and that delegates with individual preferences, would be found to desert the cause of the Massachusetts Statesman.

There was an attempt made to postpone the balloting, but the great majority wanted to get a test of strength, and the convention—after one or two other little episodes—proceeded with its work of choosing a Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States.

The first ballot began. There was an intense—all almost painful—absence of noisy excitement during the call of the States. Finally the count was finished and officially announced. The first ballot was as follows:

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. 85

THE FIRST BALLOT.

STATES.	No. of Del.	Buller.	McDonald.	Bayard.	Thurman.	Hendricks.	Randall.
Alabama.....	20		5	7	3	3	2
Arkansas.....	14		4	6	2	2	
California.....	16	9	4	1		1	1
Colorado.....	6	4	2				
Connecticut.....	12	9	1	1			1
Delaware.....	6			6			
Florida.....	8		5	1	1	1	
Georgia.....	24	3	7	6	5	2	1
Illinois.....	44	15	17	3	5	4	
Indiana.....	30	7	18			5	
Iowa.....	26	9	11	3	2	1	
Kansas.....	18	5	7	4	1	1	
Kentucky.....	26	3	13	5	3	1	1
Louisiana.....	16	1	8	3	2	1	1
Maine.....	14	11	1	1			1
Maryland.....	16	1	3	8	2	2	
Massachusetts.....	28	28					
Michigan.....	26	12	8	3	1	2	
Minnesota.....	14	7	4	1	1		1
Mississippi.....	16	2	6	5	1	2	
Missouri.....	32	8	11	5	3	3	2
Nebraska.....	10	3	2	2	2	1	
Nevada.....	6	3	3				
New Hampshire.....	8	7		1			
New Jersey.....	18	7	7	3			1
New York.....	72	41	16	5	1	2	7
North Carolina.....	22	1	9	5	4	3	
Ohio.....	46	5	8	3	27	1	2
Oregon.....	6	5	1				
Pennsylvania.....	60	27	12	8		2	11
Rhode Island.....	8	7		1			
South Carolina.....	18		5	10	1		2
Tennessee.....	24	3	14	6	1		
Texas.....	26	3	9	8	3	2	1
Vermont.....	10	9		1			
Virginia.....	24	2	8	6	3	3	2
West Virginia.....	12	2	6	2	2		
Wisconsin.....	22	9	7	2	2	1	1
Total.....	804	268	242	132	78	46	38

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes.....	804	Thomas F. Bayard.....	132
Necessary to a Choice.....	403	Allen G. Thurman.....	73
Benjamin F. Butler.....	263	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	46
Joseph E. McDonald.....	242	Samuel J. Randall.....	38

The announcement of the result of the first ballot was greeted with a perfect whirlwind of cheers. It surprised everybody that there were only five states—all of them Southern—in which Butler had no strength. Massachusetts's united vote was a revelation that had not been anticipated by the opposition to Butler, and it was felt that if this solid vote could not be broken, it would give Butler a moral support possessed by no other candidate. It was seen, too, that not only was John Kelly casting the Tammany vote of New York City for him, that that doughty leader was hard at work on the rural members of the New York delegation for his favorite.

The attempt of the McDonald men to gain time by an adjournment has been voted down, and there is an evident disposition on the part of the majority to keep matters moving.

An Illinois delegate (Harrison) has asked leave for his delegation to retire for consultation.

There is some confusion in the galleries, and while this is being stopped, the Butler men find an opportunity for a brief consultation. They decide to force the fighting, and a motion is accordingly made to proceed with the second ballot.

The Chair puts the motion and decides it lost by a *viva voce* vote.

A division is called for. To the surprise of everybody the Hendricks and Thurman strength goes solidly with the Butler men, and the result is that the motion to proceed with the second ballot is carried by a majority of sixteen.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION. 87

THE SECOND BALLOT.

STATES.	No. of Del.									
		<i>Butler.</i>	<i>McDonald.</i>	<i>Bayard.</i>	<i>Thurman,</i>	<i>Randall.</i>	<i>McClellan.</i>	<i>Wallace.</i>	<i>Hendricks.</i>	<i>Parker.</i>	Hurd.
Alabama.....	20	2	6	9	2	1				
Arkansas.....	11	1	4	7	2					
California.....	16	10	1	3		2				
Colorado.....	6	5	1							
Connecticut.....	12	10		2						
Delaware.....	6			6						
Florida.....	8	1	4	3						
Georgia.....	24	4	7	8	2	1		2		
Illinois.....	44	21	11	5	4	1	1		1	
Indiana.....	30	7	22	1						
Iowa.....	26	10	9	4	2				1	
Kansas.....	18	5	5	5	2				1	
Kentucky.....	26	5	9	3	3	1				
Louisiana.....	16	2	7	5		1	1			
Maine.....	14	12		2						
Maryland.....	16	2	2	9		1	1		1	
Massachusetts.....	28	28								
Michigan.....	26	13	8	3	2					
Minnesota.....	14	7	3	3	1					
Mississippi.....	16	3	6	7						
Missouri.....	32	9	9	8	3	1	1	1		
Nebraska.....	10	3	4	3						
Nevada.....	6	3	2	1						
New Hampshire.....	8	7		1						
New Jersey.....	18	7	3	1			3	1	3	
New York.....	72	42	13	9	4	2	2	2		
North Carolina.....	22	2	7	9	1	1	1			
Ohio.....	46	17	8	10	7		1		1	2
Oregon.....	6	5		1						
Pennsylvania.....	60	29	9	4	9	1	6	2		
Rhode Island.....	8	7		1						
South Carolina.....	18		4	10	2		1	1		
Tennessee.....	24	4	12	7			1			
Texas.....	26	4	9	10	1		1		1	
Vermont.....	10	10								
Virginia.....	24	4	8	9	2				1	
West Virginia.....	12	1	5	4	2					
Wisconsin.....	22	11	5	5	1					
Total.....	804	313	203	183	39	23	15	12	11	3
										2

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes.....	804	Samuel J. Randall.....	23
Necessary to a Choice.....	403	George B. McClellan.....	15
Benjamin F. Butler.....	313	William A. Wallace.....	12
Joseph E. McDonald.....	203	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	11
Thomas F. Bayard.....	183	Joel Parker.....	3
Allen G. Thurman.....	39	Frank Hurd.....	2

The Chair: No person having received a majority of the whole vote cast, another ballot will be taken.

Cries of "no!" "adjourn," "gaglaw," and cheers, yells, groans converted the scene into a bear garden.

John P. Irish, of Iowa, finally succeeded in making his voice heard above the din, and the Chair, by pantomimic supplications,—for his voice was inaudible in the uproar—appealed to delegates to grant Mr. Irish a hearing. In a strong speech, Mr. Irish moved that the convention adjourn for the day. It was evident, he said, that in their present excited state, many of the delegates were unable to approach their momentous duties with the calmness and deliberation which the Democracy of the nation had a right to expect of them at this time. He appealed to the friends of all of the candidates to support the motion to adjourn and thus save the convention from what might be the disastrous effects of unseemly precipitation.

A member of the Ohio delegation (Mr. Wilson) stated that he was authorized to say that Mr. Hurd was not a candidate, and that any votes in his behalf were without his knowledge and consent.

This raised another racket, the excited delegate who had first voted for Hurd trying to rise for a personal explanation.

The motion to adjourn was finally got before the convention and at 5.45 o'clock the convention adjourned to meet at ten o'clock the next morning.

*

*

*

It is the beginning of the end; the morning of the

last day of the convention. The delegates as they take their places show the effects of a sleepless night, spent in trying to effect combinations and in making preparations for the final struggle. An attempt to secure the withdrawal of McDonald in favor of Bayard, had kept the friends of the latter hard at work since the adjournment. It has proved a partial success inasmuch as many of McDonald's followers have been won over to the belief that the Delaware Senator is the only man who has any chance against Butler; on the other hand the staunch friends of McDonald are bitterly denouncing what they term the treachery of the Bayard people, and the "sell-out" of McDonald by some of the men whom he had regarded as his friends. John Kelly, Cassidy, of Pennsylvania, Lane, of Missouri, and Carter, of Georgia, have been doing noble service for Butler. The latter is directing his own battle by private wire from headquarters in Boston to a committee room in the building here. He has given some orders about the McDonald following, which, it has just leaked out, may have a very important bearing on the final result of the struggle. Only his trusted and tried lieutenants know Butler's plan of battle, and they are keeping this knowledge to themselves. The rank and file are well enough drilled to follow orders without question. All is excitement and nervous expectancy. The convention is called to order; prayer is heard by the reporters—not by the delegates who, at this moment, are altogether too much excited to listen, and the Chair announces that the third ballot is now in order.

THE THIRD BALLOT.

STATES.	No. of Del.	Buller.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Wallace.	McClellan	Parker.	Tilden.
Alabama.....	20	3	10	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	14	3	9	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	6	11	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	2	10	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	2	3	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	24	5	10	5	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	44	29	11	1	2	.....	1	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	10	6	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa.....	26	13	7	5	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	18	8	7	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	26	6	12	7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	3	12	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	13	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	3	11	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	26	17	7	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	14	9	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	3	7	5	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	32	17	13	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	10	3	3	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	8	5	1	.....	.....	2	2	.....
New York.....	72	45	21	3	.....	.....	1	.....	2
North Carolina.....	22	3	11	2	1	3	2	.....	.....
Ohio.....	46	19	12	3	11	1	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	60	32	22	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	18	1	10	3	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	6	11	4	1	1	1	1	.....
Texas.....	26	5	13	5	.....	1	2	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	24	5	12	3	1	3	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	12	3	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	13	7	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
TOTAL.....	804	374	281	87	25	23	10	2	2

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes.....	804	Allen G. Thurman.....	25
Necessary to a Choice.....	408	William A. Wallace.....	23
Benjamin F. Butler.....	374	George B. McClellan.....	10
Thomas F. Bayard.....	281	Samuel J. Tilden.....	2
Joseph E McDonald.....	87	Joel Parker.....	2

It now became evident that the next ballot would decide the struggle and that victory lay between Butler and Bayard. If the scattering vote, added to what still stuck to McDonald, could be consolidated and transferred solidly to Bayard he was evidently the coming man. Everything now depended upon the disposition of McDonald's 87 votes. Now, however, appeared the secret of Butler's successful generalship. During the previous night when the Bayard leaders were throwing their whole strength into the effort to create dissatisfaction and distrust among the McDonald following, and to cause such a defection from their ranks as would nominate the Delaware Statesman, the Butler leaders had strict orders to keep hands off until the last moment. Now however they went in with a vengeance and worked on the feelings of the following that still proved true to McDonald. Indignant at what they regarded as the treacherous tactics of the Bayard men, the majority—a large majority in fact—of the 87 delegates that had just recorded themselves for McDonald boldly declared for Butler rather than Bayard as their second choice, and made no secret of their intention to transfer their allegiance, now that the success of their own man was out of the question, to the Man of Massachusetts. This determination—and it soon became known throughout the convention—raised the spirits of the Butler men to fever-heat and they broke into repeated cheers as they pressed the struggle forward to the next ballot.

The attempt to secure an adjournment was yelled down and finally officially defeated by a yea and nay vote of

443 to 361, and thus having secured an all but final test of their strength, the Butler men demanded that the next ballot be taken at once.

An attempt to filibuster now began but it was met with such stern opposition from four-fifths of the delegates that its projectors gave up in despair.

A delegate from New Jersey (Farrell,) rose to a point of order. He was given permission to speak and then informed the convention that the use of General George B. McClellan's name was an outrage on the feelings of that gentleman, who was not an aspirant for any office in the gift of his party.

Delegate at large Hamilton, of Maryland, rose to protest against the action of the chairman of his delegation whose announcement of the last ballot he charged with being false.

Loud cries of "no, no," and cheers followed this bombshell, and after a debate on a suspension of the rules to allow of polling the delegation, Hamilton carried his point. The original vote proved to be right.

Mr. Hamilton made a brief speech apologizing for his language. "I am sure," said he, "that the men of Maryland have too much at stake not to do their whole duty to the party at this critical hour of its history."

His remarks were greeted with loud cheers and cries of "oh" and hisses. The convention at last got down to business, and amid the profoundest silence that had prevailed since the convention assembled the fourth and final ballot began :

THE FOURTH BALLOT.

STATES.	No. of Del.				
		Buller.	Boyard.	McDonald.	Thurman.
					Wallace.
Alabama.....	20	5	14	.....	1
Arkansas.....	14	2	12	.....	.....
California.....	16	11	5	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	5	1	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	10	2	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	3	4	1	.....
Georgia.....	24	6	16	1	1
Illinois.....	44	29	14	1	2
Indiana.....	30	18	10	2	.....
Iowa.....	26	14	11	1	.....
Kansas.....	18	10	8	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	26	7	17	1	1
Louisiana.....	16	5	11	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	13	1	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	4	11	1	.....
Massachusetts.....	28	28	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	26	16	9	5	1
Minnesota.....	14	9	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	5	10	1	.....
Missouri.....	32	17	15	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	10	6	4	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	4	2	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	8	7	1	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	11	7	.....	.....
New York.....	72	46	25	1	.....
North Carolina.....	22	7	14	1	.....
Ohio.....	46	26	19	.....	1
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	60	35	24	.....	1
Rhode Island.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	18	5	13	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	10	13	1	.....
Texas.....	26	9	17	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	24	8	16	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	12	3	9	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	22	14	8	.....	.....
Total.....	804	432	354	12	4
					2

RECAPITULATION.

Whole Number of Votes.....	804	Thomas F. Bayard.....	354
Necessary to a Choice.....	403	Joseph E. McDonald.....	12
Benjamin F. Butler.....	432	Allen G. Thurman.....	4

William A. Wallace..... 2

The Chair: "Benjamin F. Butler having received a majority of all the votes cast is therefore the nominee of the Democratic party for president of the United States."

No such a spectacle was ever witnessed in a convention. The New England delegates who had supported Butler, fairly wept for joy and embraced each other. There was no such thing as preserving order. The Chair wisely let the convention have full swing for its rejoicing. Suddenly one of the Alabama delegates, who had evidently lost his head, jumped on the platform and shouted: "Southern delegates who protest against this outrage, follow me." Half a dozen rose to their feet, but a mighty shout of "Shame! Traitors!" from the voices of 800 delegates and of 7000 spectators, made them sink back again disgraced and abashed.

Springing to his feet, Henry Watterson, moved to make the nomination unanimous, and in a ringing speech pledged the Kentucky Democracy to stand by the "'Savior of Massachusetts.' Let it not be said—and I am sure as a Southern man there will be no cause to say it—that any delegate honored by the Democracy of a Southern state, disgraced himself and his party by refusing loyal support to the man nominated for president by the Democracy of the Union. I can say, now that the struggle is ended, that we have nominated a candidate who, if elected—who when elected, as he will be—will take his seat, and"—the remainder of the sentence was lost in the burst of applause that followed.

John P. Irish of Iowa seconded the motion and predicted the triumphant election of General Butler.

The motion was put, and the one or two dissenting voices not being heard in the storm of cheers which followed the vast shout of "Aye," it was formally announced that BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of Massachusetts, had been unanimously nominated for President by the Democratic party in national convention assembled.

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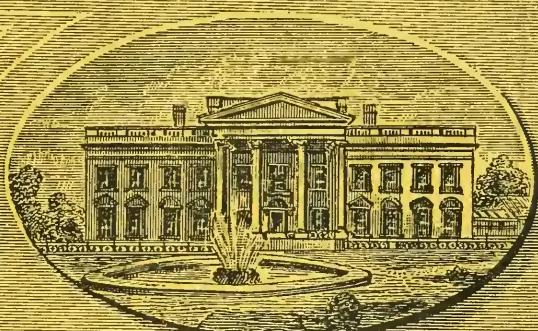
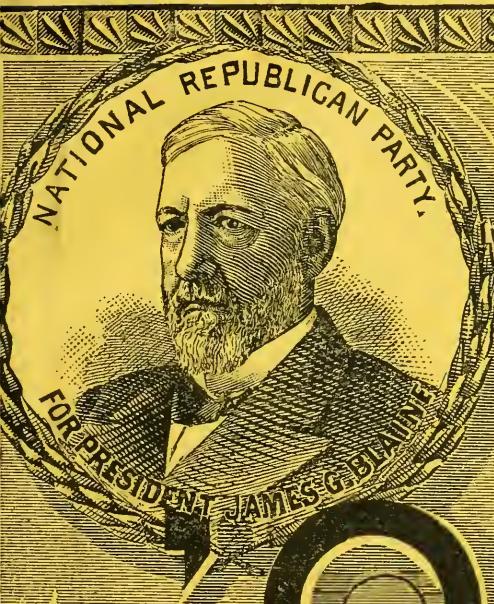
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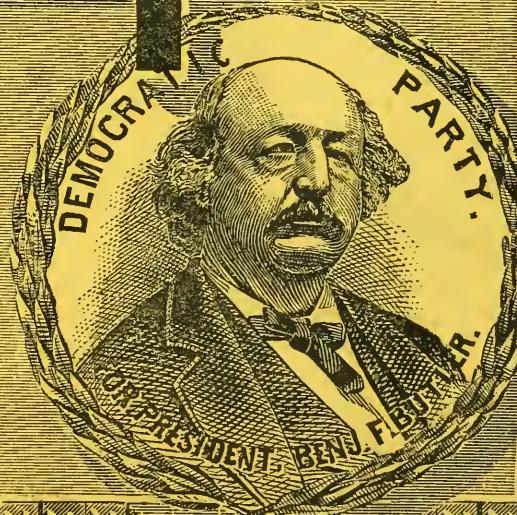
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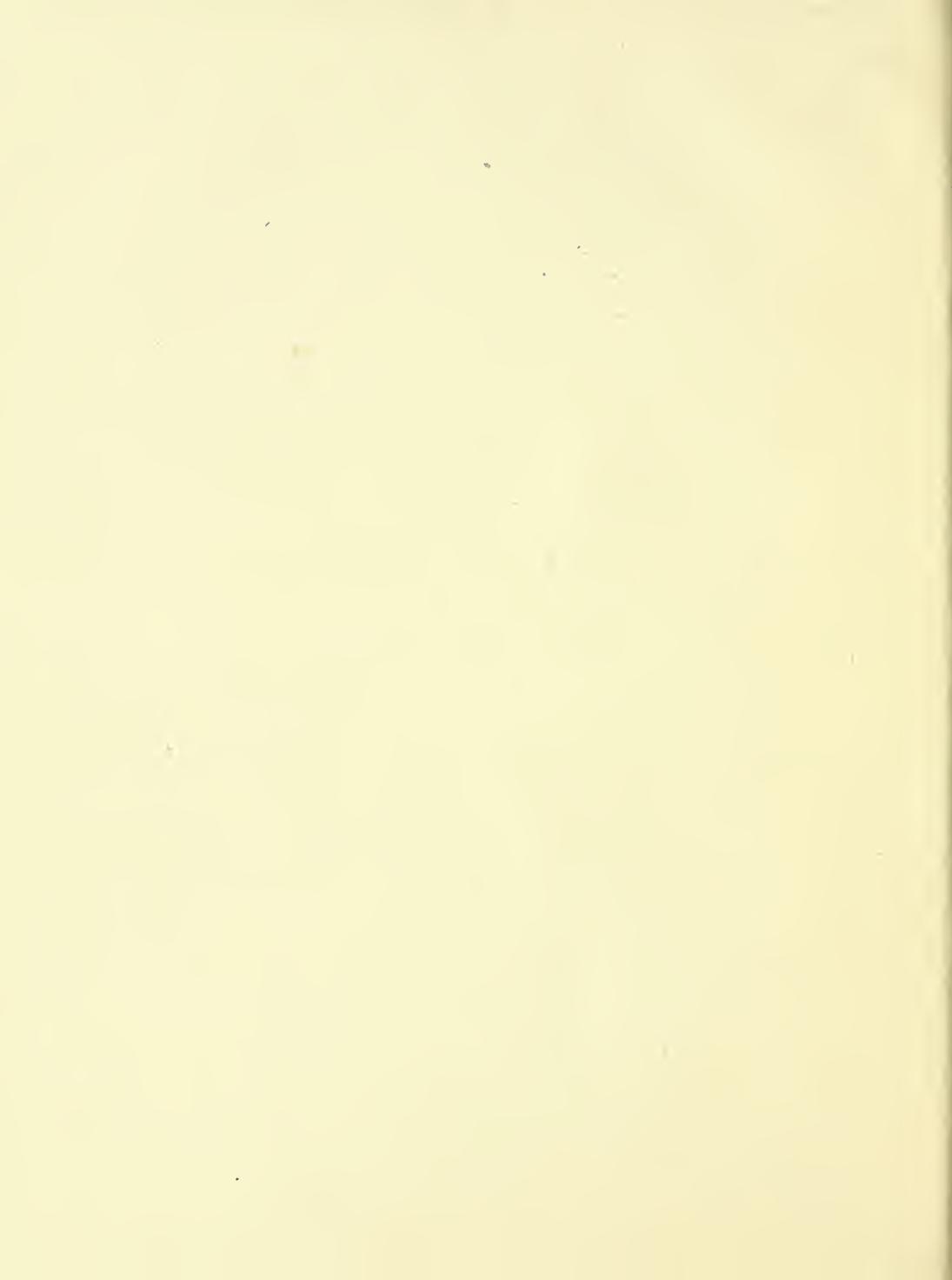
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